DIODORUS OF SICILY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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IN TWELVE VOLUMES

IV

BOOKS IX–XII 40

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ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΗΣ

FRAGMENTA LIBRI IX

1. Ἦν δὲ καὶ Σόλων[1] πατρὸς μὲν Ἐξηκεστίδου, τὸ γένος ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος τῆς Ἀττικῆς, σοφίᾳ δὲ καὶ παιδείᾳ πάντας τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὑπερβεβληκώς. φύσει δὲ πρὸς ἀρετὴν τῶν ἄλλων πολὺ διαφέρων ἐζήλωσεν ἀρετὴν ἐπαινουμένην[2]· πᾶσι γὰρ τοῖς μαθήμασι πολὺν χρόνον ἐνδιατρίψας ἀθλητὴς ἐγένε-
2 το πάσης ἀρετῆς. κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς ἡλικίαν παιδευταῖς ἐχρήσατο τοῖς ἀρίστοις, ἀνδρωθεὶς δὲ συνδιέτριψε τοῖς μεγίστην ἔχουσι δύναμιν[3] ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ. διὸ καὶ τούτοις ὁμιλῶν καὶ συνδιατρίβων ὠνομάσθη μὲν εἷς τῶν[4] ἑπτὰ σοφῶν καὶ τὸ πρωτεῖον τῆς συνέσεως οὐ μόνον παρὰ τούτοις τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς θαυμαζομένοις ἀπηνέγκατο.

[1] Σόλων in margin of MS.
[2] ἐπαινουμένην] πεπαιδευμένην Post.
[3] δύναμιν MS.; Dindorf, Vogel conj. δόξαν.
[4] τῶν added by Reiske.

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OF

DIODORUS OF SICILY

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK IX

1. Solon was the son of Execestides and his family was of Salamis in Attica; and in wisdom and learning he surpassed all the men of his time.[1] Being by nature far superior as regards virtue to the rest of men, he cultivated assiduously a virtue that wins applause[2]; for he devoted much time to every branch of knowledge and became practised in every kind of virtue. While still a youth, for instance, he availed himself of the best teachers, and when he attained to manhood he spent his time in the company of the men who enjoyed the greatest influence for their pursuit of wisdom. As a consequence, by reason of his companionship and association with men of this kind, he came to be called one of the Seven Wise Men and won for himself the highest rank in sagacity, not only among the men just mentioned, but also among all who were regarded with admiration.

[1] The following fragments on the Seven Wise Men may be compared with the fuller accounts in Diogenes Laertius (tr. by Hicks in the *L.C.L.*).
[2] Or "a virtue that comes by education"; see critical note.

3 Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς Σόλων, ἐν τῇ νομοθεσίᾳ μεγάλην δόξαν περιποιησάμενος, ἐν ταῖς ἰδιωτικαῖς ὁμιλίαις καὶ ἀποκρίσεσιν, ἔτι δὲ συμβουλίαις, θαυμαστὸς ἐτύγχανε διὰ τὴν ἐν παιδείᾳ προκοπήν.

4 Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς Σόλων, τὴν ὅλην ἀγωγὴν τῆς πόλεως ἐχούσης Ἰωνικὴν καὶ διὰ τὴν τρυφὴν καὶ τὴν ῥᾳστώνην ἐκτεθηλυμμένων τῶν ἀνθρώπων, μετέθηκε τῇ συνηθείᾳ πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ ζῆλον τῶν ἀνδρείων[1] πράξεων. διὸ τῇ τούτου νομοθεσίᾳ καθοπλισθέντες τὰς ψυχὰς Ἁρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων καταλύειν ἐπεχείρησαν τὴν τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν ἀρχήν. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 217.)

2. Ὅτι Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδῶν βασιλεὺς μεγάλας κεκτημένος δυνάμεις καὶ[2] πολὺν ἐκ παρασκευῆς σεσωρευκὼς ἄργυρόν τε καὶ χρυσόν, μετεπέμπετο τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς σοφωτάτους, καὶ συνδιατρίβων αὐτοῖς μετὰ πολλῶν δώρων ἐξέπεμπεν καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς ἀρετὴν ὠφελεῖτο πολλά. ποτὲ δὲ τοῦτον[3] μεταπεμψάμενος καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον ἐπιδειξάμενος, ἠρώτησεν εἴ τις ἕτερος αὐτῷ[4] δοκεῖ
2 μακαριώτερος εἶναι. ὁ δὲ Σόλων τῇ συνήθει τοῖς φιλοσόφοις χρησάμενος παρρησίᾳ ἔφη μηδένα τῶν ζώντων εἶναι μακάριον· τὸν γὰρ ἐπ' εὐδαιμονίᾳ πεφρονηματισμένον καὶ δοκοῦντα τὴν τύχην ἔχειν συνεργὸν μὴ γινώσκειν εἰ διαμενεῖ μετ' αὐτοῦ μέχρι τῆς ἐσχάτης. σκοπεῖν οὖν ἔφησε δεῖν τὴν

[1] So Reiske: ἀνθρωπίνων. [2] καὶ added by Dindorf.
[3] So Wurm: τούτων. [4] So Dindorf: αὐτοῦ.

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[1] Athens.
[2] The famous Tyrannicides of Athens; Harmodius killed Hipparchus, son of Peisistratus. See following note and pp. 78-79 and notes.

The same Solon, who had acquired great fame by his legislation, also in his conversations and answers to questions as a private citizen became an object of wonder by reason of his attainments in learning.

The same Solon, although the city[1] followed the whole Ionian manner of life and luxury and a carefree existence had made the inhabitants effeminate, worked a change in them by accustoming them to practise virtue and to emulate the deeds of virile folk. And it was because of this that Harmodius and Aristogeiton,[2] their spirits equipped with the panoply of his legislation, made the attempt to destroy the rule of the Peisistratidae.[3]

2. Croesus,[4] the king of the Lydians, who was possessed of great military forces and had purposely amassed a large amount of silver and gold, used to call to his court the wisest men from among the Greeks, spend some time in their company, and then send them away with many presents, he himself having been greatly aided thereby toward a life of virtue. And on one occasion he summoned Solon, and showing him his military forces and his wealth he asked him whether he thought there was any other man more blest than he. And Solon replied, with the freedom of speech customary among lovers of wisdom, that no man while yet living was blest; for the man who waxes haughty over his prosperity and thinks that he has Fortune as his helpmeet does not know whether she will remain with him to the last. Consequently, he continued, we must look to the

[3] Peisistratus was tyrant, with one or two interruptions, 560–527 B.C.; his two sons continued the tyranny until the assassination of Hipparchus in 514 and the forced retirement of Hippias in 510.
[4] Cp. Herodotus, 1. 53 ff.

τοῦ βίου τελευτὴν καὶ τὸν διευτυχήσαντα τότε
3 προσηκόντως λέγειν μακάριον. ὁ δὲ Κροῖσος ὕστερον γενόμενος αἰχμάλωτος ὑπὸ Κύρου καὶ μέλλων ἐπὶ μεγάλῃ πυρᾷ κατακαίεσθαι, τῆς Σόλωνος ἀποφάσεως ἐμνημόνευσεν. διὸ καὶ τοῦ πυρὸς ἤδη περιφλέγοντος ἀνεβόα συνεχῶς τὸ τοῦ Σόλωνος
4 ὄνομα. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος προσπέμψας τοὺς πευσομένους[1] τίς ἡ συνεχής ἐστι τοῦ Σόλωνος ὀνομασία, μαθὼν τἀληθὲς μετέπεσε τοῖς λογισμοῖς καὶ νομίσας τὴν ἀπόκρισιν τοῦ Σόλωνος ἀληθινὴν εἶναι τῆς μὲν ὑπερηφανείας ἐπαύσατο, τὴν δὲ πυρὰν κατασβέσας ἔσωσε τὸν Κροῖσον καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἕνα τῶν φίλων κατηρίθμησεν.

5 Ὅτι ὁ Σόλων ἡγεῖτο τοὺς μὲν πύκτας καὶ σταδιεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀθλητὰς μηδὲν ἀξιόλογον συμβάλλεσθαι ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς σωτηρίαν, τοὺς δὲ φρονήσει καὶ ἀρετῇ διαφέροντας μόνους δύνασθαι τὰς πατρίδας ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις διαφυλάττειν.

3. Ὅτι περὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ τρίποδος ἀμφισβητήσεως οὔσης ἡ Πυθία ἔχρησεν οὕτως·

ἔκγονε Μιλήτου, τρίποδος πέρι Φοῖβον ἐρωτᾷς;
ὃς[2] σοφίᾳ πρῶτος πάντων, τούτου τρίποδ' αὐδῶ.

2 οἱ δέ φασιν ἄλλως, ὅτι πολέμου γενομένου τοῖς Ἴωσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ τοῦ τρίποδος παρὰ σαγηνέων ἀνενεχθέντος, ἐπερωτῆσαι τὸν θεὸν περὶ

[1] So Dindorf: πυθομένους.
[2] ὃς Herwerden: τίς.

[1] 546 B.C.
[2] The tripod, found in the sea by fishermen, was to be

end of life, and only of the man who has continued until then to be fortunate may we properly say that he is blest. And at a later time, when Croesus had been taken prisoner by Cyrus and was about to be burned upon a great pyre,[1] he recalled the answer Solon had given him. And so, while the fire was already blazing about him, he kept continually calling the name of Solon. And Cyrus sent men to find out the reason for his continual calling of the name of Solon; and on learning the cause Cyrus changed his purpose, and since he believed that Solon's reply was the truth, he ceased regarding Croesus with contempt, put out the burning pyre, saved the life of Croesus, and counted him henceforth as one of his friends.

Solon believed that the boxers and short-distance runners and all other athletes contributed nothing worth mentioning to the safety of states, but that only men who excel in prudence and virtue are able to protect their native lands in times of danger.

3. When there was a dispute about the golden tripod,[2] the Pythian priestess delivered the following oracle:

Miletus' son, dost ask Apollo's will
About the tripod? Who is first of all
In wisdom, his the tripod is, I say.

But some writers have a different account, as follows: War had broken out among the Ionians, and when the tripod was brought up in their seine by some fishermen, they inquired of the god how they might

given to the wisest man, and passed through the hands of each of the Seven Wise Men, each insisting that another was wiser than himself. Cp. chap. 13, 2 *infra* and Plutarch, *Solon*, 4.

τῆς καταλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου. ἡ δὲ ἔφη,

> οὔποτε μὴ λήξῃ πόλεμος Μερόπων καὶ Ἰώνων,
> πρὶν τρίποδα χρύσειον, ὃν Ἥφαιστος κάμε τεύχων,
> ἐκ μέσσου πέμψητε, καὶ ἐς δόμον ἀνδρὸς ἵκηται
> ὃς σοφίᾳ τά τ' ἐόντα τά τ' ἐσσόμενα προδέδορκεν.

3 Ὅτι οἱ Μιλήσιοι ἀκολουθῆσαι βουλόμενοι τῷ χρησμῷ Θάλητι τῷ Μιλησίῳ[1] τὸ ἀριστεῖον ἐβούλοντο δοῦναι· τὸν δ' εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐκ ἔστι πάντων σοφώτατος, συμβουλεύειν δὲ πρὸς ἕτερον πέμπειν σοφώτερον. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν ἀποποιησαμένων τὸν τρίποδα Σόλωνι δίδοσθαι δοκοῦντι πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὑπερβεβλῆσθαι σοφίᾳ τε καὶ συνέσει. τὸν δὲ συμβουλεῦσαι τοῦτον ἀναθεῖναι Ἀπόλλωνι· τοῦτον γὰρ εἶναι σοφώτερον πάντων.

4. Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς πρὸς τῇ τοῦ βίου καταστροφῇ ὁρῶν Πεισίστρατον πρὸς χάριν[2] τὰ πλήθη δημαγωγοῦντα καὶ πρὸς τυραννίδα παρορμῶντα, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον λόγοις ἐπεχείρησεν ἀποτρέπειν ταύτης τῆς ἐπιβολῆς[3]· οὐ προσέχοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ προῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν μετὰ τῆς πανοπλίας παντελῶς ἤδη
2 γεγηρακώς. συνδραμόντος δὲ τοῦ πλήθους πρὸς αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ παράδοξον, παρεκάλει τοὺς πολίτας ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ ὅπλα καὶ παραχρῆμα καταλύειν τὸν τύραννον· οὐδενὸς δὲ αὐτῷ προσέχοντος, καὶ πάντων αὐτοῦ μανίαν καταγινωσκόντων, τινῶν δὲ παραγηρᾶν αὐτὸν ἀποφαινομένων, ὁ μὲν Πεισίστρατος ἤδη τινὰς δορυφόρους περιαγόμενος

[1] τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν after Μιλησίῳ deleted by Vogel.
[2] λόγοις after χάριν deleted by Dindorf.
[3] So Dindorf: ἐπιβουλῆς.

end the war. And the priestess replied

> Never shall cease the war twixt Meropes
> And Iones, until that golden stand
> Hephaestus worked with skill ye send away;
> And it shall come to that man's dwelling-place
> Who in his wisdom hath foreseen the things
> That are and likewise things that are to be.

The Milesians, wishing to follow the injunction of the oracle, desired to award the prize to Thales of Miletus. But Thales said that he was not the wisest of all and advised them to send it to another and wiser man. And in this manner the other six of the Seven Wise Men likewise rejected the tripod, and it was given to Solon, who was thought to have surpassed all men in both wisdom and understanding. And Solon advised that it be dedicated to Apollo, since he was wiser than all of them.

4. Solon, seeing toward the end of his life how Peisistratus, to please the masses, was playing the demagogue and was on the road to tyranny,[1] tried at first by arguments to turn him from his intention; and when Peisistratus paid no attention to him, he once appeared in the market-place arrayed in full armour, although he was already a very old man. And when the people, the sight being so incongruous, flocked to him, he called upon the citizens to seize their arms and at once make an end of the tyrant. But no man paid any attention to him, all of them concluding that he was mad and some declaring that he was in his dotage. Peisistratus, who had already gathered a guard of a few spearmen, came

[1] Shortly before 560 B.C.

προσῆλθε τῷ Σόλωνι καὶ ἐπύθετο τίνι θαρρῶν τὴν τυραννίδα καταλύειν αὐτοῦ βούλεται, τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος ὅτι τῷ γήρᾳ, θαυμάσας τὴν φρόνησιν αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ἠδίκησεν.

5. Ὅτι τὸν παρανόμοις καὶ ἀδίκοις πράξεσιν ἐπιβαλόμενον οὐκ ἂν προσηκόντως σοφὸν νομίζεσθαι.

6. Ὅτι φασὶν Ἀνάχαρσιν τὸν Σκύθην φρονοῦντα ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ μέγα παραγενέσθαι Πυθώδε καὶ ἐπερωτῆσαι τίς ἐστιν αὐτοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σοφώτερος. καὶ εἰπεῖν,

Οἰταῖόν τινά φασι Μύσωνα
σοῦ μᾶλλον πραπίδεσσιν ἀρηρότα πευκαλίμῃσιν,

ὅστις ἦν Μαλιεὺς καὶ ᾤκει τὴν Οἴτην εἰς κώμην Χηνὰς καλουμένην. (*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 281-283.)

7. Ὅτι Μύσων τις ἦν Μαλιεύς, ὃς ᾤκει ἐν κώμῃ Χηναῖς[1] καλουμένῃ, τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἐν ἀγρῷ διατρίβων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἀγνοούμενος· ὃν ἀντεισῆξαν εἰς τοὺς ἑπτὰ σοφούς, ἐκκρίναντες τὸν Περίανδρον τὸν Κορίνθιον διὰ τὸ τύραννον γεγονέναι πικρόν. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 217.)

8. Ὅτι ὁ Σόλων πολυπραγμονήσας τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ διέτριβε Μύσων, κατέλαβεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἅλω πρὸς ἄροτρον προσβαλόντα ἐχέτλην, καὶ πειραθεὶς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἔφη, Οὐχ ὥρα νῦν ἀρότρου, ὦ Μύσων, καὶ οὗτος, Οὐ χρῆσθαι, εἶπεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπισκευάζειν. (*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 283.)

9. Ὅτι Χίλων τῷ λόγῳ σύμφωνον ἔσχε τὸν βίον, ὅπερ σπανίως εὕροι τις ἂν γινόμενον. τῶν γὰρ καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς φιλοσόφων τοὺς πλείστους ἰδεῖν ἔστιν λέγοντας μὲν τὰ κάλλιστα, πράττοντας δὲ τὰ

[1] So Valesius: Χηνάς.

up to Solon and asked him, "Upon what resources do you rely that you wish to destroy my tyranny?" And when Solon replied, "Upon my old age," Peisistratus, in admiration of his common sense, did him no harm.

5. The man who puts his hands to lawless and unjust deeds may never properly be considered wise.

6. We are told that the Scythian Anacharsis, who took great pride in his wisdom, once came to Pytho and inquired of the oracle who of the Greeks was wiser than he. And the oracle replied:

A man of Oeta, Myson, they report,
Is more endowed than thou with prudent brains.

Myson was a Malian and had his home on Mt. Oeta in a village called Chenae.

7. Myson was a man of Malis who dwelt in a village called Chenae, and he spent his entire time in the country and was unknown to most men. He was included among the Seven Wise Men in the place of Periander of Corinth, who was rejected because he had turned into a harsh tyrant.

8. Solon was curious to see the place where Myson spent his days, and found him at the threshing-floor fitting a handle to a plow. And to make trial of the man Solon said, "Now is not the season for the plow, Myson." "Not to use it," he replied, "but to make it ready."

9. In the case of Chilon[1] his life agreed with his teaching, a thing one rarely finds. As for the philosophers of our time, for instance, most of them are to be seen uttering the noblest sentiments, but

[1] One of the Seven Wise Men.

χείριστα, καὶ τὴν ἐν ταῖς ἀπαγγελίαις[1] αὐτῶν σεμνότητα καὶ σύνεσιν διὰ τῆς πείρας ἐλεγχομένην. ὁ δὲ Χίλων χωρὶς τῆς κατὰ τὸν βίον ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς πραττομένοις ἀρετῆς πολλὰ διενοήθη καὶ ἀπεφθέγξατο μνήμης ἄξια.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 218.)

10. Ὅτι Χίλων ἀφικόμενος εἰς Δελφοὺς καὶ καθάπερ ἀπαρχὰς ποιούμενος τῷ θεῷ τῆς ἰδίας συνέσεως ἐπέγραψεν ἐπί τινα κίονα τρία ταῦτα, Γνῶθι σεαυτόν, καὶ Μηδὲν ἄγαν, καὶ τρίτον Ἐγγύα, πάρα δ' ἄτα. τούτων ἕκαστον ὑπάρχον βραχὺ καὶ
2 Λακωνικὸν μεγάλην ἔχει τὴν ἀναθεώρησιν. τὸ γὰρ Γνῶθι σαυτὸν παραγγέλλει παιδευθῆναι καὶ φρόνιμον γενέσθαι· οὕτω γὰρ ἄν τις ἑαυτὸν γνοίη· ἢ ὅτι οἱ ἄμοιροι παιδείας καὶ ἀλόγιστοι κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ἑαυτοὺς συνετωτάτους ὑπειλήφασιν, ἥπερ ἐστὶ τῶν ἀμαθιῶν ἀμαθεστάτη κατὰ τὸν Πλάτωνα, ἢ ὅτι τοὺς πονηροὺς ἐπιεικεῖς ἡγοῦνται, τοὺς δὲ χρηστοὺς ἀνάπαλιν φαύλους· μόνως γὰρ ἄν τις οὕτως ἑαυτὸν γνοίη καὶ ἕτερον, τυχὼν παιδείας καὶ συνέσεως περιττοτέρας.

3 Τὸ δὲ Μηδὲν ἄγαν μετριάζειν ἐν πᾶσι καὶ μηδὲ περὶ ἑνὸς τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων τελείως διορίζεσθαι, ὡς Ἐπιδάμνιοι. οὗτοι γὰρ παρὰ[2] τὸν Ἀδρίαν οἰκοῦντες καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφερόμενοι, μύδρους διαπύρους καταποντίσαντες ἐν μέσῳ τῷ πελάγει διωμόσαντο μὴ σπείσεσθαι[3] τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους

[1] So Wesseling: ἐπαγγελίαις.
[2] παρὰ added by Herwerden.
[3] So Herwerden: σπείσασθαι.

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[1] Chilon was a Spartan (Laconian) ephor in 556 B.C.
[2] The ignorance, Plato would say, that mistakes itself for knowledge.

following the basest practices, and the solemnity and sagacity expressed in their pronouncements are refuted when the speakers are put to the proof. But as for Chilon, not to mention the virtue which he displayed in every deed throughout his life, he thought out and expressed many precepts which are worthy of record.

10. When Chilon came to Delphi he thought to dedicate to the god the firstlings, as it were, of his own wisdom, and engraved upon a column these three maxims: "Know thyself"; "Nothing overmuch"; and the third, "A pledge, and ruin is nigh." Each of these maxims, though short and laconic,[1] displays deep reflection. For the maxim "Know thyself" exhorts us to become educated and to get prudence, it being only by these means that a man may come to know himself, either because it is chiefly those who are uneducated and thoughtless that think themselves to be very sagacious—and that, according to Plato, is of all kinds of ignorance the worst[2]—or because such people consider wicked men to be virtuous, and honest men, on the contrary, to be of no account; for only in this one way may a man know himself and his neighbour—by getting an education and a sagacity that are superior.

Likewise, the maxim "Nothing overmuch" exhorts us to observe due measure in all things and not to make an irrevocable decision about any human affairs, as the Epidamnians once did. This people, who dwelt on the shores of the Adriatic, once quarrelled among themselves, and casting red-hot masses of iron right into the sea they swore an oath that they would never make up their mutual enmity until the

ἔχθραν πρότερον ἕως ἂν οὗτοι θερμοὶ ἀνενεχθῶσιν. οὕτω δὲ σκληρῶς ὀμόσαντες καὶ τὸ Μηδὲν ἄγαν οὐκ ἐπινοήσαντες ὕστερον ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀναγκαζόμενοι διελύσαντο τὴν ἔχθραν, ἐάσαντες τοὺς μύδρους ψυχροὺς ἐν τῷ βυθῷ.

4 Τὸ δὲ Ἐγγύα, πάρα δ' ἄτα, τινὲς ὑπέλαβον γάμον ἀπαγορεύειν· τὴν γὰρ τοῦ γάμου σύνθεσιν παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐγγύην ὀνομάζεσθαι, καὶ βεβαιωτὴς ὁ κοινὸς βίος, ἐν ᾧ πλεῖσται καὶ μέγισται γίνονται συμφοραὶ διὰ τὰς γυναῖκας. ἔνιοι δέ φασιν ἀνάξιον εἶναι Χίλωνος[1] διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ἀναιρουμένου τοῦ γάμου διαμένειν τὸν βίον, τὴν δὲ ἄτην ἀποφαίνεσθαι παρεῖναι[2] ἐγγύαις ταῖς ἐπὶ τῶν συμβολαίων καὶ ταῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων διομολογήσεσι περὶ χρημάτων. καὶ Εὐριπίδης

οὐκ ἐγγυῶμαι, ζημίαν φιλεγγύων
σκοπῶν[3]· τὰ Πυθοῖ δ' οὐκ ἐᾷ με γράμματα.

5 Ἔνιοι δέ φασι μὴ Χίλωνος εἶναι μηδὲ πολιτικὸν τὸ μηδενὶ τῶν φίλων ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις χρείαις ἐπαρκεῖν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὰς καταβεβαιώσεις ἀπαγορεύειν καὶ τὸ κατατεταμένως ἐγγυᾶσθαί τε καὶ διορίζεσθαι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, ὡς ποιῆσαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὅτε κατηγωνίσαντο τὸν Ξέρξην. ὤμοσαν γὰρ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς παραδώσειν παίδων παισὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας ἔχθραν, ἕως ἂν οἱ ποταμοὶ

[1] So Mai: Χίλωνα.
[2] ἀποφαίνεσθαι παρεῖναι Wurm: ἀποφαίνονται.
[3] ζημίαν φιλεγγύων σκοπῶν Herwerden, followed by Nauck: ζημία φιλέγγυον σκοπεῖν.

[1] According to Herodotus (1. 165) the Phocaeans emphasized in a similar manner their resolve never to return to their native city.

masses of iron should be brought up hot out of the sea.[1] And although they had sworn so severe an oath and had taken no thought of the admonition "Nothing overmuch," later under the compulsion of circumstances they put an end to their enmity, leaving the masses of iron to lie cold in the depths of the sea.

And as for the maxim "A pledge, and ruin is nigh," some have assumed that by it Chilon was advising against marriage; for among most Greek peoples the agreement to marry is also called a "pledge," and this is confirmed by the common experience of men in that the worst and most numerous ills of life are due to wives. But some writers say that such an interpretation is unworthy of Chilon, because if marriage were destroyed life could not continue, and that he declares that "ruin" is nigh to such pledges as those made in connection with contracts and with agreements on other matters, all of which are concerned with money. As Euripides[2] says:

No pledge I give, observing well the loss
Which those incur who of the pledge are fond;
And writings there at Pytho say me nay.

But some also say that it is not the meaning of Chilon nor is it the act of a good citizen, not to come to the aid of a friend when he needs help of this kind; but rather that he advises against strong asseverations, against eagerness in giving pledges, and against irrevocable decisions in human affairs, such as the Greeks once made in connection with their victory over Xerxes. For they took oath at Plataea[3] that they would hand down enmity to the Persians as an inheritance even to their children's children, so long

[2] Frag. 923, Nauck[2].
[3] In 479 B.C.

ῥέωσιν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καὶ γένος ἀνθρώπων ᾖ καὶ γῆ καρποὺς φέρῃ[1]· τὸ δὲ τῆς τύχης εὐμετάπτωτον βεβαίως ἐγγυησάμενοι[2] μετά τινα χρόνον ἐπρεσβεύοντο πρὸς Ἀρταξέρξην τὸν υἱὸν Ξέρξου περὶ φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας.

6 Ὅτι ὁ Χίλωνος λόγος βραχὺς ὢν ὅλην περιείληφε τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἄριστον βίον ὑποθήκην, ὡς καὶ τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀναθημάτων βελτίω ταῦτα τὰ ἀποφθέγματα. αἱ μὲν γὰρ χρυσαῖ Κροίσου πλίνθοι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα κατασκευάσματα ἠφανίσθη καὶ μεγάλας ἀφορμὰς παρέσχε τοῖς ἀσεβεῖν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἑλομένοις, αἱ δὲ γνῶμαι τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον σῴζονται ἐν ταῖς τῶν πεπαιδευμένων ψυχαῖς τεθησαυρισμέναι καὶ κάλλιστον ἔχουσαι θησαυρόν, πρὸς ὃν ἂν[3] οὔτε Φωκεῖς οὔτε Γαλάται προσενεγκεῖν τὰς χεῖρας σπουδάσειαν. (*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 283-285.)

11. Ὅτι Πιττακὸς ὁ Μιτυληναῖος οὐ μόνον ἐν σοφίᾳ θαυμαστὸς ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολίτης ἐγένετο τοιοῦτος οἷον ἕτερον οὐκ ἤνεγκεν ἡ νῆσος, δοκῶ δ' οὐδ' ἂν ὕστερον ἐνέγκαι, μέχρι ἂν τὸν οἶνον φέρῃ πλείω τε καὶ ἡδίω. νομοθέτης τε γὰρ ἀγαθὸς ὑπῆρχε κἂν τοῖς κατὰ μέρος πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας κοινὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος, καὶ τὴν πατρίδα τριῶν τῶν μεγίστων συμφορῶν ἀπέλυσε, τυραννίδος, στάσεως, πολέμου.

2 Ὅτι Πιττακὸς βαθὺς ἦν καὶ ἥμερος καὶ τὴν παραίτησιν ἔχων αὐτὸς ἐν αὑτῷ. διὸ δὴ πᾶσιν ἐδόκει τέλειος ἀνὴρ εἶναι πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ὁμο-

[1] ᾖ . . . φέρῃ Herwerden: εἴη . . . φέροι.
[2] So Oldfather: ἐγγυώμενοι. [3] ἂν added by Herwerden.

[1] This would probably refer to the Peace of Callias in 448 (or earlier), but in it there was no question of an alliance. However, in 412 Sparta made a treaty with Persia against Athens.

as the rivers run into the sea, as the race of men endures, and as the earth brings forth fruit; and yet, despite the binding pledge they had taken against fickle fortune, after a time they were sending ambassadors to Artaxerxes, Xerxes' son, to negotiate a treaty of friendship and alliance.[1]

Chilon's precepts, though brief, embrace the entire counsel necessary for the best life, since these pithy sayings of his are worth more than all the votive offerings set up in Delphi. The golden ingots of Croesus[2] and other handiwork like them have vanished and were but great incentives to men who chose to lift impious hands against the temple; but Chilon's maxims are kept alive for all time, stored up as they are in the souls of educated men and constituting the fairest treasure, on which neither Phocians nor Gauls would be quick to lay their hands.[3]

11. Pittacus[4] of Mitylenê was not only admired of men for his wisdom, but he was also such a citizen as the island never produced again, nor, in my opinion, could produce in time to come—not until it bears wine both more abundant and more delicious. For he was an excellent law-giver, in his dealings with individual citizens affable and kindly, and he freed his native land from the three greatest evils, from tyranny, civil strife, and war.

Pittacus was a man of consequence, gentle and inclined to self-disparagement. Consequently he was regarded by all as a man who, beyond dispute, was

[2] See Herodotus, 1. 50.
[3] The reference is to the sack of Delphi by the Phocians in 356–346 B.C. and by the Gauls in 279 B.C.
[4] Another of the Seven Wise Men.

λογουμένως· κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν νομοθεσίαν ἐφαίνετο πολιτικὸς καὶ φρόνιμος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πίστιν δίκαιος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὑπεροχὴν ἀνδρεῖος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὸ κέρδος μεγαλοψυχίαν ἀφιλάργυρος. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 218.)

12. Ὅτι τῶν Μιτυληναίων διδόντων τῷ Πιττακῷ τῆς χώρας ὑπὲρ ἧς ἐμονομάχησε τὴν ἡμίσειαν οὐκ ἐδέξατο, συνέταξε δὲ ἑκάστῳ κληρῶσαι τὸ ἴσον, ἐπιφθεγξάμενος ὡς τὸ ἴσον ἐστὶ τοῦ πλείονος πλεῖον. μετρῶν γὰρ ἐπιεικείᾳ τὸ πλεῖον, οὐ κέρδει, σοφῶς[1] ἐγίνωσκεν· τῇ[2] μὲν γὰρ ἰσότητι δόξαν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν ἀκολουθήσειν, τῇ δὲ πλεονεξίᾳ βλασφημίαν καὶ φόβον, δι' ὧν ταχέως ἂν αὐτοῦ τὴν δωρεὰν ἀφείλαντο.

2 Ὅτι σύμφωνα τούτοις ἔπραξε καὶ πρὸς Κροῖσον διδόντα τῶν ἐκ τοῦ γαζοφυλακείου χρημάτων λαβεῖν ὁπόσα βούλοιτο. καὶ γὰρ τότε τὴν δωρεὰν οὐ προσδεξάμενόν φασιν εἰπεῖν, καὶ νῦν ἔχειν ὧν ἤθελε διπλάσια. θαυμάσαντος δὲ τοῦ Κροίσου τὴν ἀφιλαργυρίαν καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως ἐπερωτήσαντος, εἰπεῖν ὡς τελευτήσαντος ἄπαιδος τἀδελφοῦ[3] κεκληρονομηκὼς οὐσίαν εἴη τὴν ἴσην ἧπερ εἶχεν, ἣν οὐχ ἡδέως προσειληφέναι.

3 Ὅτι καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν Ἀλκαῖον, ἐχθρότατον αὐτοῦ γεγενημένον καὶ διὰ τῶν ποιημάτων πικρό-

[1] So Mai: σαφῶς. [2] So Hertlein: ἐπί. [3] So Hertlein: ἀδελφοῦ.

perfect in respect of every virtue: for as to his legislation, he showed himself statesmanlike and prudent, as to keeping his plighted faith strictly just, as to his distinction in armed combat, courageous, and as to his greatness of soul in the matter of lucre, having no trace of avarice.

12. When the inhabitants of Mitylenê offered to Pittacus the half of the land for which he had fought in single combat,[1] he would not accept it, but arranged to assign to every man by lot an equal part, uttering the maxim, "The equal share is more than the greater."[2] For in measuring "the greater" in terms of fair dealing, not of profit, he judged wisely; since he reasoned that equality would be followed by fame and security, but greediness by opprobrium and fear, which would speedily have taken away from him the people's gift.

Pittacus acted consistently with these principles toward Croesus also, when the latter offered him as much money from his treasury as Pittacus might desire to take. For on that occasion, we are told, in refusing the gift he said that he already had twice as much as he wished. And when Croesus expressed his surprise at the man's freedom from avarice and inquired of him the meaning of his reply, Pittacus said, "My brother died childless and I inherited his estate, which was the equal of my own, and I have experienced no pleasure in having received the extra amount."

The poet Alcaeus, who had been a most confirmed enemy of Pittacus and had reviled him most bitterly

[1] He slew Phrynon, the Athenian general, when the Mitylenaeans and Athenians were fighting for possession of Sigeum on the Hellespont.

[2] Diogenes Laertius (1. 75) gives it, "The half is more than the whole" (τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ παντὸς πλεῖον); cp. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, l. 40 νήπιοι, οὐδὲ ἴσασιν ὅσῳ πλέον ἥμισυ παντός.

τατα λελοιδορηκότα, λαβὼν ὑποχείριον ἀφῆκεν, ἐπιφθεγξάμενος ὡς συγγνώμη τιμωρίας αἱρετωτέρα. (*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 285.)

13. Ὅτι φασὶν οἱ Πριηνεῖς ὡς Μεσσηνίας τὸ γένος ἐπισήμους παρθένους λυτρωσάμενος ὁ Βίας παρὰ λῃστῶν ἦγεν ὡς ἰδίας θυγατέρας ἐντίμως. μετὰ δέ τινας χρόνους παραγενομένων τῶν συγγενῶν κατὰ ζήτησιν, ἀπέδωκεν αὐτὰς οὔτε τροφεῖα πραξάμενος οὔτε λύτρα, τοὐναντίον δὲ τῶν ἰδίων πολλὰ δωρησάμενος. εἶχον οὖν πρὸς αὐτὸν αἱ κόραι πατρικὴν εὔνοιαν διά τε τὴν συντροφίαν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς εὐεργεσίας, ὥστε καὶ χωρισθεῖσαι μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων εἰς τὴν πατρίδα τῆς ὑπερορίου χάριτος οὐκ ἐπελάθοντο.

2 Ὅτι σαγηνεῖς Μεσσήνιοι κατὰ τὸν βόλον ἕτερον μὲν οὐδὲν ἀνείλκυσαν, χαλκοῦν δὲ τρίποδα μόνον ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα Τῷ σοφωτάτῳ. ἀναχθέντος δὲ τοῦ κατασκευάσματος δοθῆναι τῷ Βίαντι.

3 Ὅτι Βίας ἦν δεινότατος καὶ τῷ λόγῳ πρωτεύων τῶν καθ' ἑαυτόν. κατεχρήσατο δὲ τῇ τοῦ λέγειν δυνάμει πολλοῖς ἀνάπαλιν· οὐ γὰρ εἰς μισθαρνίαν οὐδὲ εἰς προσόδους, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν τῶν ἀδικουμένων κατετίθετο βοήθειαν. ὅπερ σπανιώτατ' ἄν[1] τις εὕροι. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 218-219.)

14. Ὅτι μέγα ἐστὶν οὐ τὸ δύναμιν ὅτου δήποτε σχεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ταύτῃ δεόντως χρῆσθαι. ἐπεὶ τί ὄφελος Μίλωνι τῷ Κροτωνιάτῃ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς περὶ τὸ σῶμα ῥώμης;

[1] So Vogel: ἂν σπανιώτατον ἄν.

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[1] For references see Edmonds, *Lyra Graeca*, I, pp. 309 ff. (in the *L.C.L.*), and the Index to the volume.

[2] Of Prienê, and another of the Seven Wise Men.

in his poems,[1] once fell into his hands, but Pittacus let him go free, uttering the maxim: "Forgiveness is preferable to punishment."

13. The inhabitants of Prienê recount that Bias[2] ransomed from robbers some maidens of distinguished families of Messenia and reared them in honour, as if they were his own daughters. And after some time, when their kinsfolk came in search of them, he gave the maidens over to them, asking for neither the cost of their rearing nor the price of their ransom, but on the contrary giving them many presents from his own possessions. The maidens, therefore, loved him as a father, both because they had lived in his home and because he had done so much for them, so that, even when they had departed together with their own families to their native land, they did not forget the kindness they had received in a foreign country.

Some Messenian fishermen, when casting their net, brought up nothing at all except a brazen tripod, which bore the inscription, "To the wisest." And they took the tripod out of the sea and gave it to Bias.

Bias was a most able speaker, and surpassed in this respect all his contemporaries. But he used his great eloquence far otherwise than do many men; for he employed it, not to gain fees or income, but to give aid to those who were being wronged. Rarely indeed is a thing like this to be found.

14. It is no great thing to possess strength, whatever kind it is, but to use it as one should. For of what advantage to Milo of Croton was his enormous strength of body?[3]

[3] How Milo's strength brought about his death is told in Strabo, 6. 1. 12.

2 Ὅτι Πολυδάμας ὁ Θετταλὸς ὑπὸ τῆς πέτρας διαρραγεὶς πᾶσιν ἐποίησε φανερὸν ὡς ἐπισφαλές ἐστιν ἰσχὺν μὲν[1] μεγάλην ἔχειν, νοῦν δὲ μικρόν.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 285-286.)

15. Ὁ Πολυδάμας οὗτος ἦν ἐκ πόλεως Σκοτούσης,
γυμναῖς χερσὶ μὲν λέοντας ὡς ἄρνας διαφθείρων,
πτεροῖς ποσὶ δ' ὑπερνικῶν ἅρματα ταχυδρόμα,
τῇ δὲ χειρί τι σπήλαιον ἀντήρεισε συμπῖπτον.
ὁ Σικελὸς Διόδωρος γράφει τὴν ἱστορίαν.

(Tzetz. *Hist.* 2. 555-559.)

16. Ὅτι τῶν Κιρραίων πολιορκουμένων πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον διὰ τὸ τὸ χρηστήριον ἐπιχειρεῖν συλᾶν, τινὲς μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς τὰς πατρίδας ἐπανῆλθον, οἱ δὲ ἐπερωτήσαντες τὴν Πυθίαν ἔλαβον χρησμὸν οὕτως,

οὐ πρὶν τῆσδε πόληος ἐρείψετε[2] πύργον ἑλόντες,
πρίν κεν ἐμῷ τεμένει κυανώπιδος Ἀμφιτρίτης
κῦμα ποτικλύζῃ κελαδοῦν ἱερῇσιν ἐπ' ἀκταῖς.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 286.)

17. Ἰστέον ὅτι ὁ μὲν Σόλων ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνων τῶν τυράννων ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις πρὸ τῶν Περσικῶν χρόνων, ὁ δὲ Δράκων πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἑπτὰ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτεσιν, ὥς φησιν ὁ Διόδωρος.

(Ulpian on the *Timocrates* of Demosthenes, 9, p. 805.[3])

18. Ὅτι Περίλαος ὁ ἀνδριαντοποιὸς Φαλάριδι τῷ τυράννῳ κατασκευάσας βοῦν χαλκοῦν πρὸς τιμωρίαν τῶν ὁμοφύλων αὐτὸς πρῶτος ἐπειράθη τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς τιμωρίας· οἱ γὰρ κατὰ τῶν

[1] μὲν added by Herwerden. [2] So Mai: ἐρίθετε.
[3] Ed. W. Dindorf, Oxford, 1846–1851.

The death of Polydamas, the Thessalian, when he was crushed by the rocks,[1] made clear to all men how precarious it is to have great strength but little sense.

15. This Polydamas was of the city of Scotusa, and he used to slay lions with his bare hands as if they were sheep and easily outstrip swift-running chariots with winged feet. He also endeavoured to support with his hand the crumbling roof of a cave, as Diodorus the Sicilian recounts the story.

16. After the people of Cirrha had been besieged for a long time because they had attempted to plunder the oracle,[2] some of the Greeks returned to their native cities, but others of them inquired of the Pythian priestess and received the following response:

Ye shall not seize and lay in ruins the tower
Of yonder city, before the plashing wave
Of dark-eyed Amphitritê inundates
My sacred precinct, here on these holy cliffs.

17. It should be known that Solon[3] lived in Athens in the period of the tyrants before the Persian wars, and that Draco lived forty-seven years before him, as Diodorus says.

18. The sculptor Perilaüs made a brazen bull for Phalaris the tyrant[4] to use in punishing his own people, but he was himself the first to make trial of that terrible form of punishment. For, in general,

[1] Polydamas, a famous athlete, was in a cave when the roof began to crack. His companions fled to safety, but Polydamas thought he could support the roof (cp. Pausanias, 6. 5. 4 ff.).
[2] Delphi. About 590 B.C.
[3] Solon lived *c.* 640–558 B.C.
[4] Of Acragas, *c.* 570–*c.* 554 B.C.

ἄλλων βουλευόμενοί τι φαῦλον ὡς ἐπίπαν ταῖς ἰδίαις ἐπιθυμίαις εἰώθασιν ἁλίσκεσθαι.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 286.)

19. Ὃς Φάλαρις Περίλαον τὸν χαλκουργὸν ἐκεῖνον
τὸν Ἀττικὸν κατέκαυσεν ἐν ταύρῳ τῷ χαλκέῳ.
οὗτος γὰρ τὸ μηχάνημα τοῦ ταύρου χαλκουργήσας
τοῖς μυξωτῆρσι τοῦ βοὸς ἐτέκτηνεν αὐλίσκους,
ἀνέπτυξε καὶ θύραν δὲ πρὸς τῷ πλευρῷ τοῦ ταύρου·
καὶ δῶρον τῷ Φαλάριδι τοῦτον τὸν ταῦρον ἄγει.
Φάλαρις δὲ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν δώροις δεξιοῦται,
τὸ δὲ μηχάνημα θεοῖς καθιεροῦν κελεύει.
ὡς δ' ἀναπτύξας τὸ πλευρὸν ὁ χαλκουργὸς ἐκεῖνος
δόλον τὸν κακομήχανον ἐξεῖπεν ἀπανθρώπως,
Εἴ τινα βούλει, Φάλαρι, κολάζειν τῶν ἀνθρώπων,
ἔνδον τοῦ ταύρου κατειργνὺς πῦρ ὑποστρώννυ κάτω·
δόξει δ' ὁ ταῦρος στεναγμοῖς μυκᾶσθαι τοῖς ἐκείνου,
σὺ δ' ἡδονὴν τοῖς στεναγμοῖς ἕξεις αὐλοῖς μυκτήρων.
τοῦτο μαθὼν ὁ Φάλαρις καὶ μυσαχθεὶς ἐκεῖνον,
Ἄγε, φησί, Περίλαε, σὺ πρῶτος δεῖξον τοῦτο,
καὶ τοὺς αὐλοῦντας μίμησαι, τράνωσόν σου τὴν τέχνην.
ὡς δὲ παρέδυ μιμητὴς δῆθεν τῶν αὐλημάτων,
κλείει τὸν ταῦρον Φάλαρις καὶ πῦρ ὑποσωρεύει.[1]

those who plan an evil thing aimed at others are usually snared in their own devices.

19. This Phalaris burned to death Perilaüs, the well-known Attic worker in bronze, in the brazen bull. Perilaüs had fashioned in bronze the contrivance of the bull, making small sounding pipes in the nostrils and fitting a door for an opening in the bull's side and this bull he brings as a present to Phalaris. And Phalaris welcomes the man with presents and gives orders that the contrivance be dedicated to the gods. Then that worker in bronze opens the side, the evil device of treachery, and says with inhuman savagery, "If you ever wish to punish some man, O Phalaris, shut him up within the bull and lay a fire beneath it; by his groanings the bull will be thought to bellow and his cries of pain will give you pleasure as they come through the pipes in the nostrils." When Phalaris learned of this scheme, he was filled with loathing of the man and says, "Come then, Perilaüs, do you be the first to illustrate this; imitate those who will play the pipes and make clear to me the working of your device." And as soon as Perilaüs had crept in, to give an example, so he thought, of the sound of the pipes, Phalaris closes up the bull and heaps fire under it. But in order that the man's

[1] So Warmington: ἐπισωρεύει.

ὅπως δὲ τὸ χαλκούργημα θανὼν μὴ ἐμμιάνῃ,
κατὰ πετρῶν ἐκρήμνισεν ἐξάξας ἡμιθνῆτα.
γράφει περὶ τοῦ ταύρου δὲ Λουκιανὸς ὁ Σύρος,
Διόδωρος καὶ Πίνδαρος, σὺν τούτοις τε μυρίοι.
(Tzetz. *Hist.* 1. 646-668.)

20. Ὅτι Σόλων ὁ νομοθέτης παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παρεκάλει τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καταλύειν τὸν τύραννον πρὶν τελέως ἰσχυρὸν γενέσθαι. οὐδενὸς δὲ αὐτῷ προσέχοντος ἀναλαβὼν τὴν πανοπλίαν προῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν γεγηρακώς, καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπιμαρτυρόμενος ἔφησε καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ τῇ πατρίδι κινδυνευούσῃ βεβοηθηκέναι τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν μέρος· τῶν δὲ ὄχλων ἀγνοούντων τὴν ἐπιβολὴν[1] Πεισιστράτου συνέβη τὸν Σόλωνα τἀληθῆ
2 λέγοντα παραπέμπεσθαι. λέγεται δὲ Σόλων καὶ προειπεῖν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὴν ἐσομένην τυραννίδα δι' ἐλεγείων,

ἐκ νεφέλης πέλεται χιόνος μένος ἠδὲ χαλάζης,[2]
βροντὴ δ' ἐκ λαμπρᾶς γίνεται ἀστεροπῆς.
ἀνδρῶν δ' ἐκ μεγάλων πόλις ὄλλυται, εἰς δὲ μονάρχου
δῆμος ἀιδρείῃ δουλοσύνην ἔπεσεν.
λίην δ' ἐξάραντ'[3] οὐ ῥᾴδιόν ἐστι κατασχεῖν
ὕστερον, ἀλλ' ἤδη χρὴ περὶ[4] πάντα νοεῖν.

3 Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τυραννοῦντος ἔφη,

εἰ δὲ πεπόνθατε λυγρὰ δι' ὑμετέραν κακότητα,
μὴ θεοῖσιν ταύτην μοῖραν ἐπαμφέρετε·

[1] So Wurm: ἐπιβουλήν. [2] So Mai: θαλάττης.
[3] So Schneidewin, ἐξαρθέντα Dindorf, Vogel: ἔξεραντα.
[4] περὶ added by Dindorf.

[1] Lucian, *Phalaris*, 1. 1; Pindar, *Pyth.* 1. 95.

death might not pollute the work of bronze, he took him out, when half-dead, and hurled him down the cliffs. This tale about the bull is recounted by Lucian of Syria, by Diodorus, by Pindar, and countless others beside them.[1]

20. Solon the law-giver once entered the assembly and urged the Athenians to overthrow the tyranny before it became all-powerful. And when no man paid attention to him, he put on his full armour and appeared in the market-place, although an old man, and calling upon the gods as witnesses he declared that by word and deed, so far as in him lay, he had brought aid to the fatherland when it was in peril. But since the populace did not perceive the design of Peisistratus, it turned out that Solon, though he spoke the truth, was disregarded. And it is said that Solon also predicted the approaching tyranny to the Athenians in elegiac verse[2]:

From cloud is born the might of snow and hail
And from bright lightning's flash the thunder comes.
And from great men a city finds its doom;
The people in their ignorance have bowed
In slavery to a monarch's single rule.
For him who puts too far from shore 'tis hard
The harbour later on to make; but now
At once one needs must think of everything.

And later, when the tyranny was already established, he said[3]:

If now you suffer grievous things because
Of your own cowardice, charge not this fate

[2] Frag. 10 (Diehl), Edmonds, *Elegy and Iambus* (*L.C.L.*), I, p. 122. The date was about 562 B.C.
[3] Frag. 8 (Diehl), Edmonds, *loc. cit.*

αὐτοὶ γὰρ τούτους ηὐξήσατε ῥύματα δόντες,
καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κακὴν ἔσχετε δουλοσύνην.
ὑμῶν δ' εἷς μὲν ἕκαστος ἀλώπεκος ἴχνεσι βαίνει,
σύμπασιν δ' ὑμῖν κοῦφος ἔνεστι νόος.
εἰς γὰρ γλῶσσαν ὁρᾶτε καὶ εἰς ἔπος αἰόλον ἀνδρός,
εἰς ἔργον δ' οὐδὲν γινόμενον βλέπετε.

4 Ὅτι ὁ Πεισίστρατος παρεκάλει τὸν Σόλωνα τὰς ἡσυχίας ἔχειν καὶ τῶν τῆς τυραννίδος ἀγαθῶν συναπολαύειν· οὐδενὶ δὲ τρόπῳ δυνάμενος αὐτοῦ μεταθεῖναι τὴν προαίρεσιν, ἀλλ' ὁρῶν μᾶλλον ἀεὶ ἐξεγειρόμενον καὶ μετὰ ἀνατάσεως ἀπειλοῦντα τιμωρίαν ἐπιθήσειν, ἠρώτησεν αὐτὸν τίνι πεποιθὼς ἀντιπράττει ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς αὐτοῦ. τὸν δέ φασιν εἰπεῖν τῷ γήρᾳ. (*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 286-287.)

[Ἡρόδοτος κατὰ Ξέρξην γεγονὼς τοῖς χρόνοις φησὶν Ἀσσυρίους ἔτη πεντακόσια πρότερον τῆς Ἀσίας ἄρξαντας ὑπὸ Μήδων καταλυθῆναι, ἔπειτα βασιλέα μὲν μηδένα γενέσθαι τὸν ἀμφισβητήσοντα τῶν ὅλων ἐπὶ πολλὰς γενεάς, τὰς δὲ πόλεις καθ' ἑαυτὰς ταττομένας διοικεῖσθαι δημοκρατικῶς· τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον πολλῶν ἐτῶν διελθόντων αἱρεθῆναι βασιλέα παρὰ τοῖς Μήδοις ἄνδρα δικαιοσύνῃ διάφορον, ὄνομα Κυαξάρην. τοῦτον δὲ πρῶτον ἐπιχειρῆσαι προσάγεσθαι τοὺς πλησιοχώρους, καὶ τοῖς Μήδοις ἀρχηγὸν γενέσθαι τῆς τῶν ὅλων ἡγεμονίας· ἔπειτα τοὺς ἐκγόνους ἀεὶ προσκατακτωμένους πολλὴν τῆς ὁμόρου χώρας αὐξῆσαι τὴν βασιλείαν μέχρι Ἀστυάγους τοῦ καταπολεμηθέντος ὑπὸ Κύρου καὶ Περσῶν. περὶ ὧν νῦν ἡμεῖς τὰ κεφάλαια

Unto the gods' account; for you yourselves
Exalted these men's power by giving them
A guard, and on this count have you put on
The yoke of evil slavery. Each by each
With fox's steps you move, but meeting all
Together trifling judgement do you show.
For to man's tongue and shifty word you look,
But to the deed he does you ne'er give heed.

Peisistratus urged Solon to hold his peace and to share with him in the advantages arising from the tyranny. And when he could find no means to change Solon's purpose, but saw in fact that he was ever more and more aroused and steadfastly threatening to bring him to punishment, he asked him upon what resources he relied in his opposition to his designs. And we are told that Solon replied, "Upon my old age."

[Herodotus, who lived in the time of Xerxes, gives this account[1]: After the Assyrians had ruled Asia for five hundred years they were conquered by the Medes, and thereafter no king arose for many generations to lay claim to supreme power, but the city-states, enjoying a regimen of their own, were administered in a democratic fashion; finally, however, after many years a man distinguished for his justice, named Cyaxares, was chosen king among the Medes. He was the first to try to attach to himself the neighbouring peoples and became for the Medes the founder of their universal empire; and after him each of his successive descendants extended the kingdom by adding a great deal of the adjoining country, until the reign of Astyages, who was conquered by Cyrus and the Persians.[2] We have for the present given only the most important of these

[1] See note to Book 2. 32. [2] In 549 B.C.

προειρηκότες τὰ κατὰ μέρος ὕστερον ἀκριβῶς ἀναγράψομεν, ἐπειδὰν ἐπὶ τοὺς οἰκείους χρόνους ἐπιβάλωμεν· κατὰ γὰρ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος τῆς ἑπτακαιδεκάτης Ὀλυμπιάδος ᾑρέθη βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ Μήδων Κυαξάρης καθ' Ἡρόδοτον.]

(Diod. 2. 32. 2-3.)

[Ἀστιβάρα τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Μήδων ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις γήρᾳ τελευτήσαντος τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀσπάνδαν τὸν υἱὸν διαδέξασθαι, τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἀστυάγην καλούμενον. τούτου δ' ὑπὸ Κύρου τοῦ Πέρσου καταπολεμηθέντος μεταπεσεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς Πέρσας, περὶ ὧν ἡμεῖς τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις χρόνοις ἀκριβῶς ἀναγράψομεν.]

(Diod. 2. 34. 6.)

21. Κῦρος Περσῶν ἐβασίλευσεν ᾧ ἔτει Ὀλυμπιὰς ἤχθη νε', ὡς ἐκ τῶν Βιβλιοθηκῶν Διοδώρου καὶ τῶν Θαλλοῦ καὶ Κάστορος ἱστοριῶν, ἔτι δὲ Πολυβίου καὶ Φλέγοντος ἔστιν εὑρεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑτέρων, οἷς ἐμέλησεν Ὀλυμπιάδων· ἅπασι γὰρ συνεφώνησεν ὁ χρόνος.

(Eusebius, *Praep. evang.* 10. 10. 488 c.)

22. Ὅτι Κῦρος, ὁ Καμβύσου μὲν υἱὸς καὶ Μανδάνης τῆς θυγατρὸς Ἀστυάγους τοῦ Μήδων βασιλέως, ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ συνέσει καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρεταῖς[1] ἐπρώτευε τῶν καθ' αὑτόν· βασιλικῶς γὰρ αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ ἦγε παιδεύων, ζῆλον ἐμποιῶν τῶν κρατίστων. καὶ ἔκδηλος ἦν ἁδρῶν ἁψόμενος πραγμάτων διὰ τὸ τὴν ἀρετὴν προφαίνειν ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡλικίαν.

23. Ὅτι Ἀστυάγης ὁ τῶν Μήδων βασιλεὺς ἡττηθεὶς καὶ φυγὼν αἰσχρῶς δι' ὀργῆς εἶχε τοὺς στρατιώτας· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐφ' ἡγεμονιῶν τεταγμένους ἅπαντας ἀπαλλάξας, ἑτέρους ἀντ' ἐκείνων

events in summary and shall later give a detailed account of them one by one when we come to the periods in which they fall; for it was in the second year of the Seventeenth Olympiad,[1] according to Herodotus, that Cyaxares was chosen king of the Medes.]

[When Astibaras, the king of the Medes, died of old age in Ecbatana, his son Aspandas, whom the Greeks call Astyages, succeeded to the throne. And when he had been defeated by Cyrus the Persian, the kingdom passed to the Persians. Of them we shall give a detailed and exact account at the proper time.]

21. Cyrus became king of the Persians in the opening year of the Fifty-fifth Olympiad,[2] as may be found in the *Library* of Diodorus and in the histories of Thallus and Castor and Polybius and Phlegon and all others who have used the reckoning by Olympiads. For all these writers agree as to the date.

22. Cyrus, the son of Cambyses and Mandanê, the daughter of Astyages who was king of the Medes, was pre-eminent among the men of his time in bravery and sagacity and the other virtues; for his father had reared him after the manner of kings and had made him zealous to emulate the highest achievements. And it was clear that he would take hold of great affairs, since he revealed an excellence beyond his years.

23. When Astyages, the king of the Medes, had been defeated and was in disgraceful flight, he vented his wrath upon his soldiers; and he displaced all who had been assigned positions of command, appointing

[1] 711–710 B.C. [2] 560–559 B.C.

[1] ἀρεταῖς added by Valesius.

κατέστησε, τοὺς δὲ τῆς φυγῆς αἰτίους ἅπαντας ἐπιλέξας ἀπέσφαξε, νομίζων τῇ τούτων τιμωρίᾳ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀναγκάσειν ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις γενέσθαι· ὠμὸς γὰρ ἦν καὶ φύσει ἀπηνής. οὐ μὴν τὰ πλήθη κατεπλάγη αὐτοῦ τὴν βαρύτητα, ἀλλ' ἕκαστος μισήσας τὸ βίαιον καὶ παράνομον τῆς πράξεως μεταβολῆς ὠρέγετο. διὸ καὶ κατὰ λόχους[1] ἐγίνοντο συνδρομαὶ καὶ λόγοι ταραχώδεις, παρακαλούντων ἀλλήλους τῶν πλείστων πρὸς τὴν κατὰ τούτου[2] τιμωρίαν.

24. Ὅτι Κῦρος, ὥς φασιν, οὐ μόνον ἦν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἀνδρεῖος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους εὐγνώμων καὶ φιλάνθρωπος. διόπερ αὐτὸν οἱ Πέρσαι προσηγόρευσαν πατέρα.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 219.)

25. Ὅτι Κροῖσος ναυπηγῶν πλοῖα μακρά, φασίν, ἔμελλε στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὰς νήσους. παρεπιδημοῦντα δὲ Βίαντα ἢ Πιττακὸν[3] καὶ θεωροῦντα τὴν ναυπηγίαν, ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐρωτηθῆναι μή τι νεώτερον ἀκηκοὼς εἴη παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι γινόμενον. τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος ὅτι πάντες οἱ νησιῶται συνάγουσιν ἵππους, διανοούμενοι στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Λυδούς, λέγεται τὸν Κροῖσον εἰπεῖν, Εἴθε γάρ τις πείσειε νησιώτας σὺν ἵπποις παρατάξασθαι Λυδοῖς. τῶν γὰρ Λυδῶν ἱππεύειν εἰδότων ἐνόμιζε προτερεῖν
2 αὐτοὺς πεζῇ.[4] ὁ δὲ Πιττακὸς ἢ[5] Βίας ὑπολαβών φησιν, Εἶτα Λυδοὺς μὲν ἤπειρον οἰκοῦντας

[1] So Valesius: λόγους MSS., κατ' ὀλίγους Dindorf.
[2] So Reiske: τούτων.
[3] ἢ Πιττακὸν Klüber (cp. Herod. 1. 27): παρὰ τὰς νήσους MSS., which is deleted by Vogel.
[4] τῶν . . . πεζῇ, as Vogel suggests, is transferred to this point from the end of the chapter.

others in their stead, and he picked out all who were responsible for the flight and put them to the sword, thinking that by punishing them in that way he could force the rest to show themselves brave fighters in times of danger, since he was a cruel man and, by nature, hard. Nevertheless, the people were not dismayed at the harsh treatment he meted out; on the contrary, every man, hating his violent and lawless manner, yearned for a change of affairs. Consequently there were gatherings of small groups and seditious conversations, the larger number exhorting one another to take vengeance on him.

24. Cyrus, we are told, was not only a courageous man in war, but he was also considerate and humane in his treatment of his subjects. And it was for this reason that the Persians called him Father.

25. Croesus was once building ships of war, we are told, with the intention of making a campaign[1] against the islands. And Bias, or Pittacus,[2] who happened to be visiting Lydia at the time and was observing the building of the ships, was asked by the king whether he had heard of any news among the Greeks. And when he was given the reply that all the islanders were collecting horses and were planning a campaign against the Lydians, Croesus is said to have exclaimed, "Would that some one could persuade the islanders to fight against the Lydians on horseback!" For the Lydians are skilled horsemen and Croesus believed that they would come off victorious on land. Whereupon Pittacus, or Bias, answered him, "Well, you say that the Lydians, who live on the mainland, would

[1] *c.* 560–559 B.C.
[2] Herodotus (1. 27) says that the story was told of both men.

[5] Πιττακὸς ἢ deleted by Vogel.

σπεύδειν ἀποφαίνῃ λαβεῖν ἐπὶ γῆς νησιώτας ἄνδρας, τοὺς δὲ νῆσον οἰκοῦντας οὐκ οἴει θεοῖς εὔξασθαι λαβεῖν ἐν θαλάττῃ Λυδούς, ἵν' ὑπὲρ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἤπειρον τοῖς Ἕλλησι συμβάντων κακῶν κατὰ πέλαγος ἀμύνωνται τὸν τοὺς συγγενεῖς καταδεδουλωμένον; ὁ δὲ Κροῖσος θαυμάσας τὸν λόγον παραχρῆμα μετενόησε καὶ τῆς ναυπηγίας ἀπέστη.[1]

26. Ὅτι ὁ Κροῖσος μετεπέμπετο ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τοὺς ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ πρωτεύοντας, ἐπιδεικνύμενος τὸ μέγεθος τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, καὶ τοὺς ἐξυμνοῦντας τὴν εὐτυχίαν αὐτοῦ ἐτίμα μεγάλαις δωρεαῖς. μετεπέμψατο δὲ καὶ Σόλωνα, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ μεγίστην δόξαν ἐχόντων, τὴν ἰδίαν εὐδαιμονίαν διὰ τῆς τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν
2 μαρτυρίας ἐπισφραγίζεσθαι βουλόμενος. παρεγενήθη δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀνάχαρσις ὁ Σκύθης καὶ Βίας καὶ Σόλων καὶ Πιττακός, οὓς ἐπὶ τὰς ἑστιάσεις καὶ τὸ συνέδριον εἶχεν ἐν μεγίστῃ τιμῇ, τόν τε πλοῦτον αὐτοῖς ἐπιδεικνύμενος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς
3 ἑαυτοῦ[2] δυναστείας. παρὰ δὲ τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις τῆς βραχυλογίας τότε ζηλουμένης, ὁ Κροῖσος ἐπιδειξάμενος τὴν τῆς βασιλείας εὐδαιμονίαν τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν κεχειρωμένων ἐθνῶν, ἠρώτησεν Ἀνάχαρσιν, ὄντα πρεσβύτερον τῶν σοφιστῶν, τίνα νομίζει τῶν ὄντων ἀνδρειότατον. ὁ δὲ τὰ ἀγριώτατα τῶν ζῴων ἔφησε· μόνα γὰρ προ-
4 θύμως ἀποθνήσκειν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας. ὁ δὲ Κροῖσος νομίσας ἡμαρτηκέναι αὐτὸν ἐν δὲ[3] τῷ δευτέρῳ πρὸς χάριν αὐτῷ ποιήσεσθαι τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ὑπολαβὼν ἠρώτησε, τίνα δικαιότατον κρίνει τῶν

[1] Cp. note 4 on p. 32.

be eager to catch islanders on the land; but do you not suppose that those who live on the islands have prayed the gods that they may catch Lydians on the sea, in order that, in return for the evils which have befallen the Greeks on the mainland, they may avenge themselves at sea on the man who has enslaved their kinsmen?" Croesus, in admiration of this reply, changed his purpose at once and stopped building the ships.

26. Croesus used to send for the most distinguished wise men from Greece, to display to them the magnitude of his felicity, and would honour with rich gifts those who lauded his good fortune. And he also sent for Solon as well as for such others as enjoyed the greatest fame for their love of wisdom, wishing to have the witness of these men set the seal of approval upon his own felicity. And there came to him Anacharsis the Scythian and Bias and Solon and Pittacus, to whom he showed the highest honour at banquets and at his council, and he displayed his wealth before them and the magnitude of his own power. Now in those days men of learning sought brevity of speech. And Croesus, after he had displayed to the men the felicity of his kingdom and the multitude of the peoples subject to him, asked Anacharsis, who was older than the other men of wisdom, "Whom do you consider to be the bravest of living beings?" He replied, "The wildest animals; for they alone willingly die in order to maintain their freedom." And Croesus, believing that he had erred in his reply, and that a second time he would give an answer to please him, asked him, "Whom do you

[2] ἑαυτοῦ suggested by Vogel: τούτου.
[3] δὲ added by Capps.

ὄντων. ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἀπεφαίνετο τὰ ἀγριώτατα τῶν θηρίων· μόνα γὰρ κατὰ φύσιν ζῆν, οὐ κατὰ νόμους· εἶναι γὰρ τὴν μὲν φύσιν θεοῦ ποίησιν, τὸν δὲ νόμον ἀνθρώπου θέσιν, καὶ δικαιότερον εἶναι χρῆσθαι τοῖς
5 τοῦ θεοῦ ἢ τοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὑρήμασιν. ὁ δὲ διασῦραι βουλόμενος Ἀνάχαρσιν ἠρώτησεν εἰ καὶ σοφώτατα τὰ θηρία. ὁ δὲ συγκαταθέμενος ἐδίδασκεν ὅτι τὴν τῆς φύσεως ἀλήθειαν τῆς τοῦ νόμου θέσεως[1] προτιμᾶν ἰδιώτατον ὑπάρχειν σοφίας. ὁ δὲ τούτου κατεγέλασεν ὡς ἐκ τῆς Σκυθίας καὶ θηριώδους διαγωγῆς πεποιημένου τὰς ἀποκρίσεις.

27. Ἠρώτησε δὲ τὸν Σόλωνα τίνα τῶν ὄντων εὐδαιμονέστατον ἑώρακεν, ὡς τοῦτό γε πάντως ἀποδοθησόμενον ἑαυτῷ. τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος ὡς οὐδένα δικαίως ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι διὰ τὸ μηδενὸς τῶν ὄντων ἑωρακέναι τὸ τέλος τοῦ βίου, οὗ χωρὶς οὐδεὶς ἂν προσηκόντως μακάριος νομίζοιτο· πολλάκις γὰρ οἱ τὸν ἔμπροσθεν πάντα βίον εὐδαίμονες δόξαντες εἶναι πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ βίου καταστροφῇ
2 μεγίσταις περιέπεσον συμφοραῖς. ὁ δὲ βασιλεύς, Οὐδὲ πλουσιώτατον ἄρα με κρίνεις; ἔφη. καὶ ὁ Σόλων τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπόκρισιν ποιησάμενος ἐδίδασκεν ὡς οὐ τοὺς πλεῖστα κεκτημένους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πλείστου ἀξίαν τὴν φρόνησιν ἡγουμένους νομιστέον πλουσιωτάτους· ἡ δὲ φρόνησις οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀντίρροπος οὖσα μόνους ποιεῖ τοὺς αὐτὴν

[1] So Dindorf: φύσεως.

judge to be the most just of living beings?" And Anacharsis again answered, "The wildest animals; for they alone live in accordance with nature, not in accordance with laws; since nature is a work of God, while law is an ordinance of man, and it is more just to follow the institutions of God than those of men." Then Croesus, wishing to make Anacharsis appear ridiculous, inquired of him, "And are the beasts, then, also the wisest?" And Anacharsis agreed that they were, adding this explanation: "The peculiar characteristic of wisdom consists in showing a greater respect to the truth which nature imparts than to the ordinance of the law." And Croesus laughed at him and the answers he had given, as those of one coming from Scythia and from a bestial manner of living.

27. And Croesus asked Solon who of all living beings he had seen enjoyed the most felicitous life, thinking that Solon would by all means concede this distinction to him. But Solon replied, "I cannot justly apply this term to anyone, since I have not seen the end of life of anyone still living; for until that time no one may properly be considered to be blest. For it often happens that those who have been regarded before then as blest of Fortune all their lives have at the very close of their lives fallen upon the greatest misfortunes." The king then said, "Do you not judge me to be the wealthiest?" And Solon made the same reply, explaining that not those who have the greatest possessions, but those who consider wisdom to be the most valuable of all possessions, are to be regarded as the wealthiest; and that wisdom, seeing that there is nothing which can be balanced against it, confers upon those who value it

περὶ πολλοῦ ποιουμένους μέγιστον καὶ βεβαιότατον ἔχειν πλοῦτον.

3 Ἠρώτησε καὶ τὸν Βίαντα, πότερον ὀρθῶς ἐποιήσατο τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ὁ Σόλων ἢ διήμαρτεν. ὁ δὲ ὑπειπών, Ὀρθῶς, ἔφη· τὰ γὰρ ἔν σοι βούλεται θεωρήσας ἀγαθὰ διαγνῶναι, νυνὶ δὲ τὰ παρά σοι μόνον ἑώρακεν· εἶναι δὲ δι' ἐκεῖνα μᾶλλον ἢ ταῦτα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εὐδαίμονας. ὁ δὲ βασιλεύς, Ἀλλ' εἰ τὸν[1] τῶν χρημάτων, ἔφησε, πλοῦτον μὴ προτιμᾷς, τό γε πλῆθος τῶν φίλων ὁρᾷς τοσοῦτον ὑπάρχον ὅσον οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων. ὁ δὲ καὶ τοῦτον ἀπεφήνατο τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἄδηλον εἶναι διὰ τὴν εὐτυχίαν.

4 Πρὸς δὲ Πιττακὸν εἰπεῖν φασι, Ποίαν ἑώρακας ἀρχὴν κρατίστην; τὸν δὲ ἀποκριθῆναι, Τὴν τοῦ ποικίλου ξύλου, διασημαίνοντα τοὺς νόμους.

28. Ὅτι Αἴσωπος κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους συνήκμαζε τοῖς ἑπτὰ σοφοῖς καὶ εἶπεν ὡς οὐκ οἴδασιν οὗτοι ὁμιλεῖν δυνάστῃ· καὶ γὰρ ὡς ἥκιστα δεῖν ἢ ὡς ἥδιστα συμβιοῦν τοῖς τοιούτοις.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 287-289.)

29. Ὅτι Ἄδραστός τις Φρὺξ τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως Κροίσου τοῦ Λυδίου υἱὸν[2] Ἄτυν καλούμενον[3] πρὸς κυνηγίαν ἀκουσίως, ἐξακοντίσας κατὰ συός, πλήξας ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ ὁ μὲν καὶ ἀκουσίως ἀνῃρηκὼς οὐκ ἔφησεν ἑαυτὸν ἔτι ζῆν ἄξιον εἶναι· διὸ καὶ παρεκάλει τὸν βασιλέα μὴ φείσασθαι, τὴν ταχίστην δὲ
2 ἐπικατασφάξαι[4] τῷ τοῦ τετελευκηκότος τάφῳ. ὁ δὲ Κροῖσος τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ὡς ἂν ἐπὶ φόνῳ τέκνου δι' ὀργῆς εἶχε τὸν Ἄδραστον, ἀπειλῶν ζῶντα

[1] εἰ τὸν Mai: ἧττον.
[2] υἱὸν added by Valesius.
[3] Ἄτυν καλούμενον after συός in the next line, MS.

highly, and upon them alone, a wealth which is the greatest and most secure.

Croesus then asked Bias whether, in his opinion, Solon had answered correctly or had erred. And he replied, "Correctly; for he wishes to make his decision after he has seen the possessions you have in yourself, whereas up to now he has seen only the possessions which lie about you; and it is through the former, not the latter, that men have felicity." The king said, "But even if you do not give first honour to wealth in gold, at least you see my friends, so great a multitude as no other man possesses." But Bias answered, "Even the number of friends is uncertain because of your good fortune."

And Croesus, we are told, asked Pittacus, "What is the best form of government you have seen?" And he replied, "That of the painted wood," referring to the laws.

28. Aesop flourished in the same period of time as the Seven Wise Men, and he remarked once, "These men do not know how to act in the company of a ruler; for a man should associate with rulers either as little as possible, or with the best grace possible."

29. Adrastus, a man of Phrygia, while out hunting with Atys, as he was called, the son of the Lydian king, Croesus, unwittingly struck and killed the boy while hurling his spear at a boar. And although he had slain the boy unwittingly, he declared that he did not deserve to live; consequently he urged the king not to spare his life, but to slay him at once upon the tomb of the dead youth. Croesus at first was enraged at Adrastus for the murder, as he considered it, of his son, and threatened to burn him

[4] So Vogel: ἐπικατασφάξειν.

κατακαύσειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ἑώρα προθυμούμενον καὶ εἰς τὴν τοῦ τετελευτηκότος τιμὴν τὸ ζῆν ἐπιδιδόντα, τὸ τηνικαῦτα λήξας τῆς ὀργῆς ἀπέλυσε τῆς τιμωρίας τὸν ἀνελόντα, τὴν ἰδίαν τύχην, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν ἐκείνου προαίρεσιν αἰτιώμενος. ὁ δὲ Ἄδραστος οὐδὲν ἧττον κατ' ἰδίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄτυος τάφον πορευθεὶς ἑαυτὸν κατέσφαξεν.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 219-220.)

30. Ὅτι ὁ Φάλαρις ἰδὼν περιστερῶν πλῆθος ὑφ' ἑνὸς ἱέρακος διωκόμενον ἔφη, Ὁρᾶτε, ὦ ἄνδρες, τοσοῦτο πλῆθος ὑφ' ἑνὸς διωκόμενον διὰ δειλίαν; ἐπείτοι γε εἰ τολμήσειαν ἐπιστρέψαι, ῥᾳδίως τοῦ διώκοντος ἂν περιγένοιντο. (αὐτὸς δὲ πεπλασμένως ἔλεγεν· τὴν μὲν γὰρ νίκην ἀρετῇ καὶ οὐ πολυπληθίᾳ χειρῶν περιγίνεσθαι.)[1] καὶ ἐκ τούτου τοῦ λόγου ἀπέβαλε τὴν δυναστείαν, ὡς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ περὶ διαδοχῆς βασιλέων.

31. Ὅτι Κροῖσος ἐπὶ Κῦρον τὸν Πέρσην ἐκστρατεύων ἐπύθετο τοῦ μαντείου. ὁ δὲ χρησμός,

Κροῖσος Ἅλυν διαβὰς μεγάλην ἀρχὴν καταλύσει.

ὁ δὲ τὸ ἀμφίβολον τοῦ χρησμοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ προαίρεσιν ἐκδεξάμενος ἐδυστύχησεν.

2 Ὅτι πάλιν ἐπηρώτησεν, εἰ πολὺν χρόνον ἕξει τὴν δυναστείαν. εἶπε δὲ τὰ ἔπη ταῦτα,

ἀλλ' ὅταν ἡμίονος βασιλεὺς Μήδοισι γένηται,

[1] αὐτὸς δὲ . . . περιγίνεσθαι transferred from end of chap. 28 by Herwerden.

alive; but when he saw that Adrastus was ready and willing to give his life in punishment for the dead boy, he thereupon abandoned his anger and gave up his thought of punishing the slayer, laying the blame upon his own fortune and not upon the intent of Adrastus. Nevertheless Adrastus, on his own initiative, went to the tomb of Atys and slew himself upon it.

30. Phalaris, seeing a multitude of doves being pursued by a single hawk, remarked, "Do you observe, sirs, how fear will make so great a multitude flee before a single pursuer? And yet if they should summon the courage to turn about, they would easily overcome their pursuer." (But it was Phalaris himself who was falsifying; for the victory was won by courage and not by superiority of numbers.)[1] And as a result of this speech Phalaris lost his dominion, as it is recorded in the section "On the Succession of Kings."

31. When Croesus was taking the field[2] against Cyrus the Persian, he made inquiry of the oracle. And the answer ran:

If Croesus crosses Halys, a mighty realm
Will he destroy.

He received and interpreted the ambiguous answer of the oracle in the light of his own purpose and so came to grief.

Croesus inquired a second time whether he was to enjoy a rule of long duration. And the oracle spoke the following verses:

The day a mule becomes the king of Medes,

[1] Obviously a scholiast's comment.

[2] 547 B.C.

καὶ τότε, Λυδὲ ποδαβρέ, πολυψήφιδα παρ' Ἕρμον
φεύγειν μηδὲ μένειν μηδ' αἰδεῖσθαι κακὸς εἶναι.

Ὅτι ἡμίονον τὸν Κῦρον ἔφη διὰ τὸ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ Μηδικὴν εἶναι, τὸν δὲ πατέρα[1] Πέρσην.

3 Ὅτι Κῦρος ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς παραγενηθεὶς μετὰ πάσης δυνάμεως εἰς τὰ τῆς Καππαδοκίας στενά, ἀπέστειλε κήρυκας πρὸς τὸν Κροῖσον τήν τε δυναστείαν αὐτοῦ κατασκεψομένους καὶ δηλώσοντας ὅτι Κῦρος αὐτὸν ἀφίησι τῶν πρότερον ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ Λυδίας καθίστησι σατράπην, ἂν ἐπὶ θύρας γενόμενος ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁμολογῇ δοῦλος εἶναι. πρὸς οὓς ὁ Κροῖσος ἀπεκρίθη, διότι προσηκόντως ἂν Κῦρος καὶ Πέρσαι Κροίσῳ δουλεύειν ὑπομείναιεν· ἐκείνους μὲν γὰρ τὸν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον διατετελεκέναι Μήδοις δουλεύοντας, αὐτὸν δὲ οὐδέποτε πεποιηκέναι τὸ προσταττόμενον ὑφ' ἑτέρου. (*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 289-290.)

32. Ὅτι Κροῖσος ὁ τῶν Λυδῶν βασιλεὺς προσποιησάμενος εἰς Δελφοὺς πέμπειν, ἔπεμπεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον Εὐρύβατον τὸν Ἐφέσιον, δοὺς αὐτῷ χρυσίον, ὅπως ὡς πλείστους ξενολογήσῃ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. ὁ δὲ πεμφθεὶς πρὸς Κῦρον τὸν Πέρσην ἀποχωρήσας τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐδήλωσε. διὸ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπισήμου γενομένης τῆς περὶ τὸν Εὐρύβατον πονηρίας, μέχρι τοῦ νῦν, ὅταν τις ὀνειδίσαι τινὶ βούληται μοχθηρίαν, Εὐρύβατον ἀποκαλεῖ. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 220.)

33. Ὅτι οἱ πονηροὶ κἂν αὐτίκα παρὰ τῶν ἀδικηθέντων τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐκκλίνωσιν, ἥ γε βλασφημία δι' αἰῶνος τηρουμένη καὶ τελευτήσαντας αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν μετέρχεται.

[1] αὐτοῦ after πατέρα deleted by Herwerden.

Then, tender-footed Lydian, do thou flee
Along the pebbly bed of Hermus, nor
Abide, nor be ashamed a coward to be.

By a " mule " Cyrus was meant, because his mother was a Mede and his father a Persian.

Cyrus, the king of the Persians, appeared with all his host at the passes of Cappadocia and sent messengers to Croesus both to spy out his power and to declare to him that Cyrus would forgive his previous misdeeds and appoint him satrap of Lydia, provided he presented himself at Cyrus' court and acknowledged, as others did, that he was his slave. But Croesus answered the messengers that it would be more fitting if Cyrus and the Persians should submit to be the slaves of Croesus, reminding them that theretofore they had been slaves of the Medes and that he had never yet taken orders from another.

32. Croesus, the king of the Lydians, under the guise of sending to Delphi, dispatched Eurybatus of Ephesus to the Peloponnesus, having given him money with which to recruit as many mercenaries as he could from among the Greeks. But this agent of Croesus went over to Cyrus the Persian and revealed everything to him. Consequently the wickedness of Eurybatus became a by-word among the Greeks, and to this day whenever a man wishes to cast another's knavery in his teeth he calls him a Eurybatus.

33. Although evil men may avoid for the moment punishment at the hands of those whom they have wronged, yet the evil report of them is preserved for all time and punishes them so far as possible even after death.

2 Ὅτι φασὶ τὸν Κροῖσον πρὸ τοῦ πρὸς Κῦρον πολέμου πέμψαι θεωροὺς εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπερωτήσοντας, πῶς ἂν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ δύναιτο φωνὴν προέσθαι. τὴν δὲ Πυθίαν εἰπεῖν,

Λυδὲ γένος, πολλῶν βασιλεῦ, μέγα νήπιε Κροῖσε,
μὴ βούλου πολύευκτον ἰὰν κατὰ δώματ' ἀκούειν
παιδὸς φθεγγομένου. τὸ δέ σοι πολὺ λώιον ἀμφὶς
ἔμμεναι· αὐδήσει γὰρ ἐν ἤματι πρῶτον ἀνόλβῳ.

3 Ὅτι δεῖ τὴν εὐτυχίαν μετρίως φέρειν καὶ μὴ πεποιθέναι ταῖς ἀνθρωπίναις εὐπραξίαις ἐν μικρᾷ ῥοπῇ μεγάλας μεταβολὰς λαμβανούσαις.

4 Ὅτι μετὰ τὸ γενέσθαι αἰχμάλωτον τὸν Κροῖσον καὶ τὴν πυρὰν σβεσθῆναι, ἰδὼν τὴν πόλιν διαρπαζομένην καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις πολὺν ἄργυρόν τε καὶ χρυσὸν διαφορούμενον, ἐπηρώτησε[1] τὸν Κῦρον, τί ποιοῦσιν οἱ στρατιῶται. τοῦ δὲ μετὰ γέλωτος ἀποκριθέντος,[2] Τὰ σὰ χρήματα διαρπάζουσι, Μὰ Δία μὲν οὖν, εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ σά· Κροίσου γὰρ ἴδιον οὐκέτι οὐθὲν ὑπάρχει. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος θαυμάσας τὸν λόγον εὐθὺς μετενόησε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀνείρξας τῆς διαρπαγῆς εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν ἀνέλαβε τὰς τῶν Σαρδιανῶν κτήσεις.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 290-291.)

34. Ὅτι Κῦρος εὐσεβῆ νομίσας εἶναι τὸν Κροῖσον διὰ τὸ καταρραγῆναι ὄμβρον καὶ σβέσαι τὴν φλόγα,

[1] So Dindorf: ἐπερωτῆσαι.
[2] ὡς after ἀποκριθέντος deleted by Wurm.

We are told that Croesus, on the eve of his war with Cyrus, dispatched ambassadors to Delphi to inquire by what means it would be possible for his son[1] to speak; and that the Pythian priestess replied:

O thou of Lydian stock, o'er many king,
Thou great fool Croesus, never wish to hear
Within thy halls the much-desired sound
Of thy son speaking. Better far for thee
That he remain apart; for the first words
He speaks shall be upon a luckless day.[2]

A man should bear good fortune with moderation and not put his trust in the successes such as fall to human beings, since they can take a great shift with a slight turn of the scale.

After Croesus had been taken prisoner and the pyre[3] had been quenched, when he observed that the city was being plundered and that much silver and gold, besides everything else, were being carried off, he asked Cyrus, "What are the soldiers doing?" Cyrus laughingly replied, "They are making plunder of your wealth"; whereupon Croesus said, "Not so, by Zeus, but of yours; for Croesus has no longer a thing of his own." And Cyrus, impressed by his words, at once changed his purpose, and putting a stop to the plundering of the soldiers he took the possessions of the inhabitants of Sardis for the Royal Treasury.

34. Cyrus, believing Croesus to be a pious man because a rainstorm had burst forth and quenched

[1] He was dumb from birth.
[2] Herodotus (1. 85) recounts that the boy first spoke on the day the Persians took Sardis.
[3] Which had been prepared for his burning. See above, chap. 2.

καὶ διὰ μνήμης ἔχων τὴν Σόλωνος ἀπόκρισιν, μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ περιήγετο[1] τὸν Κροῖσον ἐντίμως. μετέδωκε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ συνεδρίου, διαλαμβάνων ὑπάρχειν συνετόν, ὡς ἂν πολλοῖς καὶ πεπαιδευμένοις καὶ σοφοῖς ἀνδράσι συμβεβιωκότα.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 220.)

35. Ὅτι Ἅρπαγος κατασταθεὶς ὑπὸ Κύρου τοῦ Πέρσου ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάττης στρατηγός, καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἑλλήνων πρὸς Κῦρον διαπρεσβευομένων συνθέσθαι φιλίαν, εἶπε πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὅτι παραπλήσιόν τι ποιοῦσι τῶν πρότερον ἑαυτῷ συμ-
2 βάντων. καὶ γάρ ποτε γῆμαι βουλόμενον αἰτεῖσθαι παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὴν κόρην· τὸν δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὐκ ἄξιον κρίναντα τοῦ γάμου δυνατωτέρῳ κατεγγυῆσαι, μετὰ δὲ ταῦθ' ὁρῶντα αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τιμώμενον διδόναι τὴν θυγατέρα· αὐτὸν δὲ ἀποκριθῆναι διότι γυναῖκα μὲν οὐκέτι ἂν ἔχοι
3 αὐτήν, παλλακίδα δὲ συγχωρήσαι[2] λαβεῖν. διὰ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων λόγων ἐδήλου τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὅτι Κύρου πρότερον ἀξιοῦντος γενέσθαι Περσῶν φίλους οὐκ ἐβουλήθησαν, νῦν δὲ ἐκ μεταβολῆς ἐκείνων σπευδόντων συνάψαι φιλίαν ὡς μὲν πρὸς συμμάχους οὐ ποιήσεται τὰς ὁμολογίας, ὡς δὲ δούλους εἰς τὴν τῶν Περσῶν πίστιν ἑαυτοὺς παραδιδόντας προσδέξεται.

36. Ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι πυνθανόμενοι τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἕλληνας κινδυνεύειν, ἔπεμψαν πρὸς Κῦρον, ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι συγγενεῖς ὄντες τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἑλλήνων ἀπαγορεύουσιν αὐτῷ

[1] So Herwerden: περιῆγε. [2] So Dindorf: συγχωρῆσαι.

[1] Probably the one to the effect that no man could

the flame, and calling to mind the reply of Solon,[1] kept Croesus at his side in a position of honour. He gave him a place also in his council, believing him to be a person of sagacity by reason of his having associated with many men of learning and wisdom.

35. Harpagus had been appointed commander on the sea by Cyrus the Persian, and when the Greeks of Asia sent an embassy to Cyrus[2] for the purpose of making a treaty of friendship with him, Harpagus remarked to them that what they were doing was very much like a former experience of his own. Once when he wished to marry he had asked a girl's father for the hand of his daughter. At first, however, her father decided that he was not worthy to marry his daughter and betrothed her to a man of higher position, but later, observing that Harpagus was being honoured by the king, he offered him his daughter; but he replied that he would no longer have her as his wife, but would consent to take her as a concubine. By such words he pointed out to the Greeks that formerly, when Cyrus had urged them to become friends of the Persians, they had been unwilling, but now, after matters had taken a different turn and they were anxious to agree upon relations of friendship, Cyrus would make no terms with them as with allies, but he would receive them as slaves if they would throw themselves upon the good-faith of the Persians.

36. When the Lacedaemonians learned that the Greeks of Asia were in peril, they sent a message to Cyrus[2] stating that the Lacedaemonians, being kinsmen of the Greeks of Asia, forbade him to enslave

be called blest before the end of his life (cp. chaps. 2. 2; 27. 1). [2] 545 B.C.

καταδουλοῦσθαι τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις. ὁ δὲ θαυμάσας τὸν λόγον ἔφη γνώσεσθαι τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν, ὅταν ἕνα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ δούλων πέμψῃ καταστρεψόμενον τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

2 Ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν μέλλοντες καταστρέφειν ἔλαβον χρησμόν,

Ἀρκαδίαν μ' αἰτεῖς; μέγα μ' αἰτεῖς· οὔ τοι δώσω.
πολλοὶ ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ βαλανηφάγοι ἄνδρες ἔασιν,
οἵ σ' ἀποκωλύσουσιν· ἐγὼ δέ τοι οὔτι μεγαίρω.
δώσω σοι Τεγέαν ποσσίκροτον ὀρχήσασθαι
καὶ καλὸν πεδίον σχοίνῳ διαμετρήσασθαι.

3 Ὅτι οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔπεμψαν εἰς Δελφοὺς περὶ τῶν ὀστέων Ὀρέστου τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος, ἐν ποίῳ τινὶ τόπῳ κεῖνται. καὶ ἔχρησεν οὕτως,

ἔστι τις Ἀρκαδίας Τεγέη λευρῷ[1] ἐνὶ χώρῳ,
ἔνθ' ἄνεμοι πνείουσι δύω κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης
καὶ τύπος ἀντίτυπος καὶ πῆμ' ἐπὶ πήματι κεῖται.
ἔνθ' Ἀγαμεμνονίδην κατέχει φυσίζοος αἶα·
τὸν σὺ κομισσάμενος Τεγέης ἐπιτάρροθος ἔσσῃ.

ἦν δὲ χαλκεῖον, καὶ δηλοῖ τὰς φύσας, τύπον δὲ τὸν ἄκμονά φησι καὶ τὰς σφύρας, πῆμα δὲ ἐπὶ πήματι τὸν σίδηρον ἐπὶ σιδήρῳ· πῆμα γὰρ εἴρηται διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ κακῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὑρῆσθαι.

4 Κρεῖττον γὰρ εἶναι τελευτᾶν ἢ ζῶντας ἑαυτοὺς

[1] So Mai (cp. Herod. 1. 67): δεῦρο.

[1] c. 560 B.C.
[2] The translation has been expanded, for the Greek is elliptic. The oracle and a detailed explanation of it are given in Herodotus (1. 67-68).

the Greek cities. And Cyrus, marvelling at such words, remarked that he would judge of their valour when he should send one of his own slaves to subdue Greece.

When the Lacedaemonians were setting out to conquer Arcadia,[1] they received the following oracle:

Arcadia dost thou demand of me?
A high demand, nor will I give it thee.
For many warriors, acorn-eaters all,
Dwell in Arcadia, and they will ward
Thee off. Yet for my part I grudge thee not.
Tegea's land, smitten with tripping feet,
I'll give to thee, wherein to dance and plot
The fertile plain with measuring-line for tilth.

The Lacedaemonians sent to Delphi to inquire in what place the bones of Orestes, the son of Agamemnon, were buried. And the oracle replied in this wise:

A certain Tegea there is of Arcady
In a smooth and level plain, where two winds blow
Before a stern necessity, to stroke
Comes answering stroke, and bane is heaped on bane.
There the life-giving earth holds fast the son
Of Agamemnon; bring thou him thence and then
The overlord of Tegea thou shalt be.

It was a smithy that was referred to, and the oracle means by the two winds the bellows,[2] signifying by "stroke" the anvil and the hammers, and by "bane heaped on bane," the iron upon iron; for iron is called a "bane" because the discovery of it has worked to the hurt of mankind.

It is better to die, than to live and witness your-

μετὰ τῶν συγγενῶν ἐφορᾶν ἄξια θανάτου πράττοντας.

37. Ὅτι κανηφορούσης ποτὲ τῆς θυγατρὸς Πεισιστράτου καὶ δοκούσης τῷ κάλλει διαφέρειν, προσελθών τις τῶν νεανίσκων καταπεφρονηκὼς ἐφίλησε τὴν παρθένον. ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ τῆς κόρης ἀδελφοὶ βαρέως ἤνεγκαν τὴν ὕβριν, καὶ τὸν νεανίσκον ἀγαγόντες πρὸς τὸν πατέρα δίκην ἠξίουν διδόναι· ὁ δὲ Πεισίστρατος γελάσας, Καὶ τί τοὺς μισοῦντας ἡμᾶς, ἔφη, ποιήσωμεν, ἐὰν τοὺς φιλοῦντας τιμωρίαις περιβάλωμεν;

2 Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς διαπορευόμενός ποτε διὰ τῆς χώρας κατενόησεν ἄνθρωπον κατὰ τὸν Ὑμηττον ἐργαζόμενον ἐν χωρίοις λεπτοῖς καθ' ὑπερβολὴν καὶ τραχέσι. θαυμάσας δὲ τὴν φιλεργίαν ἔπεμψε τοὺς ἐρωτήσοντας, τί λαμβάνοι τοιαύτην χώραν ἐργαζό-
3 μενος. ὧν ποιησάντων τὸ προσταχθέν, ὁ ἐργάτης ἔφησε λαμβάνειν ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου κακὰς ὀδύνας, ἀλλ' οὐθὲν αὐτῷ μέλειν· τούτων γὰρ τὸ ι′[1] μέρος Πεισιστράτῳ διδόναι. ὁ δὲ δυνάστης ἀκούσας τὸν λόγον καὶ γελάσας ἐποίησε τὸ χωρίον ἀτελές, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἡ παροιμία, Καὶ σφάκελοι ποιοῦσιν ἀτέλειαν. (*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 291-293.)

[1] ι′ (δέκατον) added by Nauck; cp. Arist. Ἀθ. Πολ. 16. 6; Suidas, *s.v.* σφάκελοι.

self and your kinsmen meeting misfortune as bad as death.

37. Once when the daughter of Peisistratus was carrying the sacred basket in procession[1] and she was thought to excel all others in beauty, a young man stepped up and with a superior air kissed the maiden. The girl's brothers, on learning what had been done, were incensed at the youth's insolence, and leading him to their father they demanded that he be punished. But Peisistratus laughingly said, "What shall we do then to those who hate us, if we heap punishments on those who love[2] us?"

Once when Peisistratus was journeying through the country he saw a man on the slopes of Hymettus working in a field where the soil was exceedingly thin and stony. And wondering at the man's zeal for the work, he sent some of his company to inquire of him what return he got from working ground like that. And when the men had carried out the command, the farmer replied that he got from the field only grievous pains; but he did not care, since he gave the tenth part of them to Peisistratus. And the ruler, on hearing the reply, laughed, and made the field exempt from taxation, whence arose the proverb, Even spasms[3] give tax-exemption.

[1] In the Panathenaic festival and procession.
[2] φιλεῖν has the two meanings of "love" and "kiss."
[3] According to Suidas, the man had replied that he got from the land "pains and spasms."

FRAGMENTA LIBRI X

1. Ὅτι Σερούιος Τύλλιος Ταρκυνίου ἐπιθεμένου παραγενηθεὶς εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον, καὶ θεασάμενος τὴν καθ' ἑαυτοῦ παρασκευήν, τοσοῦτον μόνον εἶπε, Τίς ἡ τόλμα, Ταρκύνιε; ὁ δὲ ὑπολαβών, Ἡ μὲν οὖν σή, φησί, τίς, ὃς δουλέκδουλος ὢν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεύειν ἐτόλμησας καὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἡγεμονίας ἡμῖν προσηκούσης παρανόμως ἀφείλου τὴν οὐδὲ καθ' ἕνα σοι τρόπον ἐπιβάλλουσαν ἀρχήν; ταῦτα λέγων ἅμα προσέδραμε καὶ δραξάμενος τῆς τοῦ Τυλλίου χειρὸς ἔρριψεν αὐτὸν κατὰ τῆς κρηπῖδος. καὶ διαναστὰς καὶ χωλεύων διὰ τὸ πτῶμα ἐπεχείρησε φυγεῖν, ἀπεκτάνθη δέ.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 293.)

2. Ὅτι Σερούιος Τύλλιος ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη τετταράκοντα τέτταρα, διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀρετῆς κατωρθωκὼς οὐκ ὀλίγα τῶν κοινῶν.

3. Ὅτι ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Θηρικλέους κατὰ τὴν ἑξηκοστὴν πρωτὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα Πυθαγόρας ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐγνωρίζετο, προκεκοφὼς ἤδη ἐν παιδείᾳ· γέγονε γὰρ ἱστορίας ἄξιος, εἰ καί τις ἕτερος τῶν

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[1] Tarquinius Superbus; cp. Livy, 1. 47 f.; Dionysius Hal. 4. 38. The traditional date in 535 B.C.

[2] According to the account of Dionysius, these were the steps of the Senate chamber which led down into the Forum.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK X

1. Servius Tullius, on the occasion of the uprising of Tarquinius,[1] came into the Senate, and when he saw the extent of the intrigue against him, he did no more than to say, "What presumption, O Tarquinius, is this?" Tarquinius replied, "Nay, what presumption is yours, who, though slave and son of a slave, have presumed to rule as king over the Romans, and who, although the leadership my father had belongs to me, have illegally taken from me the rule to which you in no single respect have a claim?" With these words he rushed at Tullius, and seizing him by the arm he hurled him down the steps.[2] Tullius picked himself up and, limping from the fall, endeavoured to flee, but was put to death.

2. Servius Tullius, the king of the Romans, enjoyed a rule of forty-four years,[3] successfully establishing not a few institutions in the commonwealth by virtue of his own high character.

3. When Thericles was archon in Athens in the Sixty-first Olympiad, Pythagoras, the philosopher, 5 B.C.
was generally recognized,[4] having already far advanced in learning; for if there is any man of those who have cultivated learning deserving of a place

[3] 578–535 B.C.

[4] ἐγνωρίζετο is commonly used by the chronographers as the equivalent of *floruit*, indicating roughly a person's middle age.

περὶ παιδείαν διατριψάντων. γέγονε δὲ Σάμιος τὸ
2 γένος· οἱ δέ φασιν ὅτι Τυρρηνός. τοσαύτη δ' ἦν
ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ λόγοις πειθὼ καὶ χάρις, ὡς καὶ τῆς
πόλεως σχεδὸν ὅλης ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπιστρεφούσης καθ'
ἡμέραν ὡσπερεὶ πρός τινος θεοῦ παρουσίαν ἅπαν-
3 τας συντρέχειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόασιν. οὐ μόνον δὲ
περὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ λέγειν δύναμιν ἐφαίνετο μέγας,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ψυχῆς ἐνέφαινεν ἦθος κατεσταλμένον καὶ
πρὸς μίμησιν βίου σώφρονος τοῖς νέοις θαυμαστὸν
ἀρχέτυπον. καὶ τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ἀπέτρεπεν
ἀπὸ τῆς πολυτελείας καὶ τρυφῆς, ἁπάντων διὰ τὴν
εὐπορίαν ἀνέδην ἐκκεχυμένων εἰς ἄνεσιν καὶ δια-
φθορὰν ἀγεννῆ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῆς[1] ψυχῆς.

4 Ὅτι Πυθαγόρας πυθόμενος Φερεκύδην τὸν ἐπι-
στάτην αὐτοῦ γεγενημένον ἐν Δήλῳ νοσεῖν καὶ τε-
λέως ἐσχάτως ἔχειν, ἔπλευσεν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας εἰς
τὴν Δῆλον. ἐκεῖ δὲ χρόνον ἱκανὸν τὸν ἄνδρα γηρο-
τροφήσας, πᾶσαν εἰσηνέγκατο σπουδὴν ὥστε τὸν
πρεσβύτην ἐκ τῆς νόσου διασῶσαι. κατισχυθέντος
δὲ τοῦ Φερεκύδου διὰ[2] γῆρας καὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος
τῆς νόσου, περιέστειλεν αὐτὸν κηδεμονικῶς, καὶ
τῶν νομιζομένων ἀξιώσας ὡσανεί τις υἱὸς πατέρα
πάλιν ἐπανῆλθεν[3] εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν.

5 Ὅτι ἐπειδάν τινες τῶν συνήθων ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας
ἐκπέσοιεν, διῃροῦντο τὰ χρήματα αὑτῶν[4] ὡς πρὸς
ἀδελφούς. οὐ μόνον δὲ πρὸς τοὺς καθ' ἡμέραν
συμβιοῦντας τῶν γνωρίμων τοιαύτην εἶχον τὴν
διάθεσιν, ἀλλὰ καθόλου πρὸς πάντας τοὺς τῶν
πραγμάτων τούτων μετασχόντας.

[1] τῆς added by Herwerden.
[2] τὸ added after διὰ by Valesius, Vogel.
[3] ἐπανῆλθεν Valesius : ἐπανελθεῖν.

in history, it is he. By birth he was a Samian, though some men say that he was a Tyrrhenian.[1] And there was such persuasion and charm in his words that every day almost the entire city turned to him, as to a god present among them, and all men ran in crowds to hear him. Not only in eloquence of speech did he show himself great, but he also displayed a character of soul which was temperate and constituted a marvellous model of a life of modesty for the youth to emulate. Whoever associated with him he converted from their ways of extravagance and luxury, whereas all men, because of their wealth, were giving themselves over without restraint to indulgence and an ignoble dissipation of body and soul.

Pythagoras, learning that his old teacher Pherecydes lay ill in Delos and was at the point of death, set sail from Italy to Delos. There he took care of the old man for a considerable time and made every effort to bring the aged man safely through his malady. And when Pherecydes was overcome by his advanced years and the severity of the disease, Pythagoras made every provision for his burial, and after performing the accustomed rites for him, as a son would for his father, he returned to Italy.

Whenever any of the companions of Pythagoras lost their fortune, the rest would divide their own possessions with them as with brothers. Such a disposition of their property they made, not only with their acquaintances who passed their daily lives with them, but also, speaking generally, with all who shared in their projects.

[1] Etruscan.

[4] αὑτῶν Dindorf, Bekker, Büttner-Wobst: αὐτῶν MSS., Vogel.

4. Ὅτι Κλεινίας, Ταραντῖνος τὸ γένος, εἷς δὲ
τῶν ἐκ τοῦ προειρημένου συστήματος ὤν, πυθό-
μενος Πρῶρον τὸν Κυρηναῖον διά τινα πολιτικὴν
περίστασιν ἀπολωλεκότα τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ τελέως
ἀπορούμενον, ἐξεδήμησεν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας εἰς Κυ-
ρήνην μετὰ χρημάτων ἱκανῶν καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν
ἀποκατέστησε τῷ προειρημένῳ, οὐδέποτε τοῦτον
ἑωρακώς, ἀκούων δὲ μόνον ὅτι Πυθαγόρειος ἦν.
2 καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ πολλοὶ τὸ παραπλήσιον πεποιηκότες
διαμνημονεύονται. οὐ μόνον δὲ ἐν τῇ τῶν χρη-
μάτων ἐπιδόσει τοιούτους αὑτοὺς παρείχοντο τοῖς
γνωρίμοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἐπισφαλεστάτους
3 καιροὺς συνεκινδύνευον. καὶ γὰρ Διονυσίου τυραν-
νοῦντος Φιντίας τις Πυθαγόρειος ἐπιβεβουλευκὼς
τῷ τυράννῳ, μέλλων δὲ τῆς τιμωρίας τυγχάνειν,
ᾐτήσατο παρὰ τοῦ Διονυσίου χρόνον εἰς τὸ περὶ
τῶν ἰδίων πρότερον ἃ βούλεται διοικῆσαι· δώσειν
δ' ἔφησεν ἐγγυητὴν τοῦ θανάτου τῶν φίλων ἕνα.
4 τοῦ δὲ δυνάστου θαυμάσαντος, εἰ τοιοῦτός ἐστι
φίλος ὃς ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν εἱρκτὴν ἀντ' ἐκείνου
παραδώσει, προσεκαλέσατό[1] τινα τῶν γνωρίμων
ὁ Φιντίας, Δάμωνα ὄνομα, Πυθαγόρειον φιλό-
σοφον, ὃς οὐδὲ διστάσας ἔγγυος εὐθὺς ἐγενήθη τοῦ
θανάτου.
5 Τινὲς μὲν οὖν ἐπῄνουν τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς πρὸς
τοὺς φίλους εὐνοίας, τινὲς δὲ τοῦ ἐγγύου προ-
πέτειαν καὶ μανίαν κατεγίνωσκον. πρὸς δὲ τὴν
τεταγμένην ὥραν ἅπας ὁ δῆμος συνέδραμεν, καρα-
6 δοκῶν εἰ φυλάξει τὴν πίστιν ὁ καταστήσας. ἤδη
δὲ τῆς ὥρας συγκλειούσης πάντες μὲν ἀπεγινω-

[1] So MSS., Büttner-Wobst: προεκαλέσατο Valesius, Dindorf, Vogel.

4. Cleinias of Tarentum, who was a member of the order[1] of which we have spoken, learning that Prorus of Cyrenê had lost his fortune because of a political upheaval and was completely impoverished, went over from Italy to Cyrenê with sufficient funds and restored to Prorus his fortune, although he had never seen the man before and knew no more of him than that he was a Pythagorean. Of many others also it is recorded that they have done something of this kind. And it was not only in the giving away of money that they showed themselves so devoted to their friends, but they also shared each other's dangers on occasions of greatest peril. So, for example, while Dionysius was tyrant[2] and a certain Phintias, a Pythagorean, who had formed a plot against the tyrant, was about to suffer the penalty for it, he asked Dionysius for time in which to make such disposition as he wished of his private affairs; and he said that he would give one of his friends as surety for his death. And when the ruler expressed his wonder whether such a friend was to be found as would take his place in prison, Phintias called upon one of his acquaintances, a Pythagorean philosopher named Damon, who without hesitation came forward at once as surety for his death.

Now there were some who expressed approval of so great a love for one's friends, whereas some charged the surety with rashness and folly. And at the appointed hour all the people ran together, anxious to learn whether the man who had provided a surety for himself would keep faith. When the hour drew close and all were giving up hope, Phintias unex-

[1] The Pythagoreans.
[2] The Elder, in Syracuse, 405–367 B.C.

σκον, ὁ δὲ Φιντίας ἀνελπίστως ἐπὶ τῆς ἐσχάτης τοῦ χρόνου ῥοπῆς δρομαῖος ἦλθε, τοῦ Δάμωνος ἀπαγομένου πρὸς τὴν ἀνάγκην. θαυμαστῆς δὲ τῆς φιλίας φανείσης ἅπασιν, ἀπέλυσεν ὁ Διονύσιος τῆς τιμωρίας τὸν ἐγκαλούμενον, καὶ παρεκάλεσε τοὺς ἄνδρας τρίτον ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν φιλίαν προσλαβέσθαι.

5. Ὅτι οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι καὶ τῆς μνήμης μεγίστην γυμνασίαν ἐποιοῦντο, τοιοῦτόν τινα τρόπον τῆς μελέτης ὑποστησάμενοι. οὐ πρότερον ἐκ τῆς εὐνῆς ἠγείροντο πρὶν ἂν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἀνθωμολογήσαντο τὰ κατὰ τὴν προτέραν ἡμέραν αὐτοῖς πραχθέντα, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῆς πρωίας, τὴν δὲ τελευτὴν ἕως ἑσπέρας ποιούμενοι. εἰ δ' ἀναστροφὴν ἔχοιεν καὶ πλείονα σχολὴν ἄγοιεν, καὶ τὰ[1] τρίτῃ καὶ τετάρτῃ καὶ ταῖς ἔτι πρότερον ἡμέραις πραχθέντα προσανελάμβανον. τοῦτο πρὸς ἐπιστήμην καὶ φρόνησιν ἐπετήδευον[2] πάντων ἐμπειρίαν τε τοῦ δύνασθαι πολλὰ μνημονεύειν.

2 Ὅτι ἐποιοῦντο καὶ τῆς ἐγκρατείας γυμνασίαν τόνδε τὸν τρόπον. παρασκευασάμενοι πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὰς λαμπροτάτας ἑστιάσεις παρατιθέμενα πολὺν αὐτοῖς ἐνέβλεπον χρόνον· εἶτα διὰ τῆς θέας τὰς τῆς φύσεως ἐπιθυμίας πρὸς τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν ἐκκαλεσάμενοι τὰς τραπέζας ἐκέλευον αἴρειν τοὺς

[1] τὰ added by Dindorf. [2] So Post: ἔτι δὲ τῶν.

[1] The story of the friendship between Damon and Phintias (Pythias is incorrect) was widely known in the ancient world, and in many forms. Diodorus and Cicero, *De Off.* 3. 45; *Tusc. Disp.* 5. 22 (quoting the tyrant: "Utinam ego tertius vobis adscriberer!") give the oldest version, the latter clearly

pectedly arrived on the run at the last moment, just as Damon was being led off to his fate. Such a friendship was in the eyes of all men a thing of wonder, and Dionysius remitted the punishment of the condemned man, urging the two men to include himself as a third in their friendship.[1]

5. The Pythagoreans also insisted upon a very great exercise of the memory, setting up the following way of giving it practice. They would not arise from their beds until they had frankly disclosed to one another everything they had done the day before, beginning with early dawn and closing with the evening. And if they had the time and more leisure than usual, they would add to their account what they had done on the third day past, the fourth, and even earlier days. This practice they followed to gain knowledge and judgement in all matters and experience in the ability to call many things to mind.

The Pythagoreans trained themselves in the exercise of self-control in the following manner. They would have prepared for them everything which is served up at the most brilliant banquets, and would gaze upon it for a considerable time; then, after through mere gazing they had aroused their natural desires with a view to their gratification, they would command the slaves to clear away the tables and

connecting the event with the Elder Dionysius. The fullest account we possess, as given by Iamblichus (*Vita Pythag.* 233) on the authority, as he claims, of Aristoxenus, who is described as receiving the tale directly from the mouth of the tyrant himself at Corinth, makes the occasion of the event a scheme of the court of the Younger Dionysius to put the Pythagorean reputation of friendship to the test. The account by Hyginus (*Fab.* 257) was the source of Schiller's famous *Ballade*, "Die Burgschaft."

παῖδας, καὶ παραχρῆμα ἄγευστοι τῶν παρατεθέντων ἐχωρίζοντο. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 220-223.)

6. Ὅτι ὁ Πυθαγόρας μετεμψύχωσιν ἐδόξαζε καὶ κρεοφαγίαν ὡς ἀποτρόπαιον ἡγεῖτο, πάντων τῶν ζῴων τὰς ψυχὰς μετὰ θάνατον εἰς ἕτερα ζῷα λέγων εἰσέρχεσθαι. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ἑαυτὸν ἔφασκεν ἐπὶ τῶν Τρωικῶν χρόνων μεμνῆσθαι γεγενημένον Εὔφορβον τὸν Πάνθου μὲν υἱόν, ἀναιρεθέντα δὲ ὑπὸ Μενελάου.

2 Ὅτι φασὶν αὐτὸν ἐν Ἄργει ποτὲ παρεπιδημήσαντα καὶ θεασάμενον τῶν Τρωικῶν σκύλων ἀσπίδα προσηλωμένην δακρύειν. ἐρωτηθέντα δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀργείων τὴν τοῦ πάθους αἰτίαν εἰπεῖν ὅτι τὴν ἀσπίδα ταύτην εἶχεν αὐτὸς ἐν Τροίᾳ γεγονὼς Εὔ-
3 φορβος. ἀπίστως δὲ διακειμένων καὶ μανίαν αὐτοῦ καταγινωσκόντων, σημεῖον ἐρεῖν[1] ἔφησεν ἀληθὲς τοῦ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχειν· ἐκ τοῦ γὰρ ἐντὸς μέρους ἐπιγεγράφθαι τὴν ἀσπίδα γράμμασιν ἀρχαίοις ΕΥΦΟΡΒΟΥ. πάντων δὲ διὰ τὸ παράδοξον εἰπόντων καθελεῖν αὐτήν, ἐντὸς[2] συνέβη τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν εὑρεθῆναι.

4 Ὅτι Καλλίμαχος εἶπε περὶ Πυθαγόρου διότι τῶν ἐν γεωμετρίᾳ προβλημάτων τὰ μὲν εὗρε, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου πρῶτος εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἤνεγκεν, ἐν οἷς λέγει ὅτι

ἐξεῦρε Φρὺξ Εὔφορβος, ὅστις ἀνθρώποις
τρίγωνα καὶ σκαληνὰ καὶ κύκλον ἑπτα-

[1] So Dindorf: εὑρεῖν.
[2] αὐτήν, ἐντὸς Wurm: τὴν εἰκόνα.

would at once depart without having tasted of what had been served.

6. Pythagoras believed in the transmigration of souls and considered the eating of flesh as an abominable thing, saying that the souls of all living creatures pass after death into other living creatures. And as for himself, he used to declare that he remembered having been in Trojan times Euphorbus, the son of Panthus, who was slain by Menelaüs.[1]

We are told that once, when Pythagoras was sojourning in Argos, he saw a shield from the spoils of Troy fastened by nails to the wall and wept. And when the Argives inquired of him the cause of his grief, he replied that he himself had carried this shield in the land of Troy when he was Euphorbus. And when all were incredulous and judged him to be mad, he replied that he would give them convincing evidence that what he had said was so; for on the inner side of the shield there had been inscribed in ancient characters "of Euphorbus." At this surprising answer all said to take down the shield, and on the inner side in fact was found the inscription.

Callimachus once said about Pythagoras that of the problems of geometry some he discovered and certain others he was the first to introduce from Egypt to the Greeks, in the passage where he writes[2]:

This Phrygian Euphorbus[3] first for men
Found out, who taught about triangle shapes

[1] Cp. *Iliad*, 17. 1 ff.
[2] *Iambi*, 124 ff.
[3] A name given to Pythagoras because he claimed to be reincarnation of Euphorbus (cp. the preceding paragraph).

μήκη δίδαξε νηστεύειν
τῶν ἐμπνεόντων· οἱ τάδ' οὐδ' ὑπήκουσαν
πάντες.[1]

7. Ὅτι παρεκάλει τὴν λιτότητα ζηλοῦν· τὴν γὰρ πολυτέλειαν ἅμα τάς τε οὐσίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων διαφθείρειν καὶ τὰ σώματα. τῶν γὰρ νόσων τῶν πλείστων ἐξ ὠμότητος γινομένων, αὐτὴν ταύτην
2 ἐκ τῆς πολυτελείας γίνεσθαι. πολλοὺς δὲ ἔπεισεν ἀπύροις σιτίοις χρῆσθαι καὶ ὑδροποσίαις πάντα τὸν βίον ἕνεκεν τοῦ τἀγαθὰ[2] θηρᾶσθαι τὰ κατὰ ἀλήθειαν. τῶν δὲ καθ' ἡμᾶς εἴ τις ὑπαγορεύσειεν ἢ ἑνὸς ἢ δυεῖν ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἡδέων εἶναι δοκούντων ἐπ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας, ἀπείπαιντ' ἂν[3] τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, φήσαντες εὔηθες ὑπάρχειν τἀφανὲς ἀγαθὸν ζητεῖν
3 ἀφέντα τὸ φανερόν. κἂν μὲν δέῃ δημοκοπεῖν ἢ

[1] The original lines of Callimachus have now been recovered from a papyrus (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 1011, ed. by A. S. Hunt), and are restored and translated as follows in the edition of Mair in the *L.C.L.*:

τοὐξεῦρ' ὁ Φρὺξ Εὔφορβ[ος], ὅστις ἀνθρώπων
τρ[ίγ]ωνα καὶ σκ[αληνὰ] πρῶτος ἔγρ[α]ψε
καὶ κύκλον ἑπ[ταμήκε', ἠδὲ νηστεύειν
τῶν ἐμπνεό[ντ]ων ε[ἶπεν· οἱ δ' ὑπήκουσαν
οὐ πάντες, ἀλλ' οὓς εἶχεν [οὕτερος δαίμων.

("... which the Phrygian Euphorbus discovered: who first of men drew triangles and scalenes and the seven-length circle and who bade men abstain from eating living things: and his teaching was hearkened to, not by all but by some misguided men.") Diodorus' Greek is clearly defective and had been variously emended before the discovery of the papyrus fragment. Schneider (Frag. 83 a) reconstructed the lines as follows:

ἃ 'ξεῦρε Φρὺξ Εὔφορβος, ὅστις ἀνθρώπους
τρίγωνά τε σκαληνὰ καὶ κύκλων ἑπτὰ
μήκη 'δίδαξε κἠδίδαξε νηστεύειν

And scalenes, aye and a circle in seven lengths,[1]
And taught full abstinence from tasting flesh
Of living things; but all would not to this
Give heed.

7. Pythagoras urged his followers to cultivate the simple life, since extravagance, he maintained, ruins not only the fortunes of men but their bodies as well. For most diseases, he held, come from indigestion, and indigestion, in turn, from extravagance. Many men were also persuaded by him to eat uncooked food and to drink only water all their life long, in order to pursue what is in truth the good. And yet, as for the men of our day, were one to suggest that they refrain for but a few days from one or two of the things which men consider to be pleasant, they would renounce philosophy, asserting that it would be silly, while seeking for the good which is unseen, to let go that which is seen. And whenever it

[1] T. Heath (*A History of Greek Mathematics*, 1, p. 142) thinks these words "unintelligible . . . unless the 'seven-lengthed circle' can be taken as meaning the 'lengths of seven circles' (in the sense of the seven independent orbits of the sun, moon and planets) or the circle (the zodiac) comprehending them all." Mair (see critical note) discusses the meaning of the passage at considerable length; see also further in Heath and Hunt.

τῶν ἐμπνεόντων· οἱ δ' ἄρ' οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν
πάντες.

To bring Diodorus' quotation into agreement with the Greek of the papyrus (itself mutilated, though the restorations appear plausible and yield sense) would require such drastic emendation that the Greek is left as it is given by the codex.

[2] So Dindorf: ταῦτα.

[3] ἀπείπαιντ' ἂν Wurm: ἀπεῖπον.

πολυπραγμονεῖν περὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων, σχολάζουσι καὶ ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἐμποδίζονται· ἐὰν δὲ γίνεσθαι δέῃ περὶ παιδείαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἠθῶν ἐπισκευήν, ἀκαιρεῖν φασιν, ὥστε ἀσχολεῖσθαι μὲν εὐσχολοῦντας, σχολὴν δ' ἄγειν οὐ σχολάζοντας.

4 Ὅτι φασὶ τὸν Ταραντῖνον Ἀρχύταν τὸν ὄντα Πυθαγόρειον ἐπὶ μεγάλοις ἀδικήμασιν οἰκέταις ὀργισθῆναι, καὶ κατεξαναστάντα τοῦ πάθους εἰπεῖν, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐγενήθησαν ἀθῷοι τηλικαῦτα ἁμαρτήσαντες, εἰ μὴ ἔτυχεν ὀργιζόμενος.

8. Ὅτι οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι μεγίστην ἐποιοῦντο πρόνοιαν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς φίλους βεβαιότητος, τὴν τῶν φίλων εὔνοιαν ἀξιολογώτατον ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ διειληφότες.

2 Ὅτι μέγιστον ἄν τις ἡγήσαιτο καὶ μάλιστα θαυμάσαι τὸ αἴτιον τῆς πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εὐνοίας. τίνες γάρ ποτε ἦσαν ἐθισμοὶ ἢ τίς τρόπος ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἢ τίς λόγου δεινότης δι' ἧς ἐνειργάζοντο τὴν τοιαύτην διάθεσιν τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις εἰς τὴν τοῦ
3 βίου κοινωνίαν; ταῦτα γὰρ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐπιθυμήσαντες γνῶναι τῶν ἔξωθεν ἐπεβάλοντο πολυπραγμονεῖν, οὐδέποτε δὲ οὐδεὶς μαθεῖν ἠδυνήθη. αἴτιον δὲ τοῦ διατηρεῖσθαι τὰς ὑπὲρ τούτων ὑποθήκας τὸ τοὺς Πυθαγορείους ὑπόστασιν ἔχειν μηδὲν τοιοῦτο ποιεῖν ἔγγραφον, ἀλλὰ διὰ μνήμης ἔχειν τὰ παραγγελλόμενα.

9. Ὅτι ὁ Πυθαγόρας πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις παρήγ-

[1] Philosopher, statesman, general, and mathematician of the early fourth century B.C.

[2] Cicero (*Tusc. Disp.* 4. 36) quotes with warm approval the words of Archytas: "Quo te modo, inquit, accepissem, nisi iratus essem" ("What a visitation you would have got, if I had not been angry"; tr. of King in *L.C.L.*).

becomes necessary to court the mob or to meddle in affairs which are none of their business, they have the time for it and will let nothing stand in their way; whereas, whenever it becomes necessary to bestir themselves about education and the repairing of character, they reply that the matter is not opportune for them, the result of it all being that they busy themselves when they have no business and show no concern when they are concerned.

We are told that Archytas[1] of Tarentum, who was a follower of Pythagoras, once became angry with his slaves because of some serious offences; but when he recovered from his rage, he said to them, "You would not have got off without punishment after such misconduct, had I not lost my temper."[2]

8. The Pythagoreans laid the greatest store upon constancy toward one's friends, believing as they did that the loyalty of friends is the greatest good to be found in life.

A man may consider that the greatest and most marvellous thing about the Pythagoreans was the cause of their loyalty to their friends. What indeed were the habits, what the manner of their practices, or the powerful arguments which enabled them to inculcate such a disposition in all who joined their common manner of life? Many outsiders, being eager to know the cause, expended great effort on the endeavour, but no man of them was ever able to learn it. The reason why their system of instruction for this purpose was kept inviolate was that the Pythagoreans made it a fundamental tenet to put nothing on this subject in writing, but to carry their precepts only in their memory.

9. Pythagoras, in addition to his other injunctions,

γελλε τοῖς μανθάνουσι σπανίως μὲν ὀμνύναι, χρησαμένους δὲ τοῖς ὅρκοις πάντως ἐμμένειν καὶ πρὸς τέλος ἄγειν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἄν τις ὀμόσῃ πραγμάτων, οὐχ ὁμοίαν ἀπόφασιν ποιούμενος Λυσάνδρῳ τε τῷ Λάκωνι καὶ Δημάδῃ τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ, ὧν ὁ μὲν ἀπεφαίνετο τοὺς μὲν παῖδας δεῖν ἐξαπατᾶν τοῖς ἀστραγάλοις, τοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας τοῖς ὅρκοις, ὁ δὲ διαβεβαιούμενος ὅτι δεῖ τὸ λυσιτελέστατον ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὅρκων αἱρεῖσθαι· ὁρᾶν δὲ τὸν ἐπιορκήσαντα παραχρῆμα ταῦτ' ἔχοντα περὶ ὧν ὤμοσε, τὸν δ' εὐορκήσαντα[1] φανερῶς τὸ ἴδιον ἀπολλύντα. τούτων γὰρ ἑκάτερος οὐ καθάπερ Πυθαγόρας ὑπεστήσατο τὸν ὅρκον εἶναι πίστεως ἐνέχυρον βέβαιον, ἀλλ' αἰσχροκερδείας καὶ ἀπάτης δέλεαρ.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 293-295.)

2 Ὅτι Πυθαγόρας παρήγγελλε τοῖς μανθάνουσι σπανίως μὲν ὀμνύναι, χρησαμένους δὲ τοῖς ὅρκοις πάντως ἐμμένειν.

3 Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς Πυθαγόρας καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀφροδισίων ἐκλογιζόμενος τὸ συμφέρον παρήγγελλε κατὰ μὲν τὸ θέρος μὴ πλησιάζειν γυναιξί, κατὰ δὲ τὸν χειμῶνα προσιέναι τεταμιευμένως. καθόλου γὰρ τὸ γένος τῶν ἀφροδισίων ὑπελάμβανεν εἶναι βλαβερόν, τὴν δὲ[2] συνέχειαν αὐτῶν τελέως ἀσθενείας καὶ ὀλέθρου ποιητικὴν ἐνόμιζε.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 423.)

4 Ὅτι Πυθαγόραν φασὶν ὑπό τινος ἐρωτηθέντα πότε χρηστέον ἀφροδισίοις εἰπεῖν, Ὅταν ἑαυτοῦ θέλῃς ἥττων γενέσθαι.

[1] δ' εὐορκήσαντα Wurm : δὲ ὁρκίζοντα.
[2] δὲ added by Valesius.

commanded his pupils rarely to take an oath, and, when they did swear an oath, to abide by it under any circumstances and to bring to fulfilment whatever they have sworn to do; and that they should never reply as did Lysander the Laconian and Demades the Athenian,[1] the former of whom once declared that boys should be cheated with dice and men with oaths, and Demades affirmed that in the case of oaths, as in all other affairs, the most profitable course is the one to choose, and that it was his observation that the perjurer forthwith continued to possess the things regarding which he had taken the oath, whereas the man who had kept his oath had manifestly lost what had been his own. For neither of these men looked upon the oath, as did Pythagoras, as a firm pledge of faith, but as a bait to use for ill-gotten gain and deception.

Pythagoras commanded his pupils rarely to take an oath, and when they did swear an oath, to abide by it under every circumstance.

The same Pythagoras, in his reflections upon the pleasures of love, taught that it was better to approach women in the summer not at all, and in the winter only sparingly. For in general he considered every kind of pleasure of love to be harmful, and believed that the uninterrupted indulgence in them is altogether weakening and destructive.

It is told of Pythagoras that once, when he was asked by someone when he should indulge in the pleasures of love, he replied, "When you wish not to be master of yourself."[2]

[1] Lysander, a Spartan admiral, died in 395 B.C.; Demades, the orator, in 319 B.C. Antipater once remarked of Demades, when he was an old man, that "he was like a victim when the sacrifice was over—nothing left but tongue and guts" (Plutarch, *Phocion*, 1).
[2] Cp. Plato, *Rep.* 430 E.

5 Ὅτι οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι διῄρουν καὶ τὰς ἡλικίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τέσσαρα μέρη, παιδός, νέου, νεανίσκου, γέροντος, καὶ τούτων ἑκάστην ἔφασαν ὁμοίαν εἶναι ταῖς κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τῶν ὡρῶν μεταβολαῖς, τὸ μὲν ἔαρ τῷ παιδὶ διδόντες, τὸ δὲ φθινόπωρον τῷ ἀνδρί, τὸν δὲ[1] χειμῶνα τῷ γέροντι, τὸ δὲ θέρος τῷ νέῳ. (*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 295.)

6 Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς Πυθαγόρας παρήγγελλε πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς προσιέναι τοὺς θύοντας μὴ πολυτελεῖς, ἀλλὰ λαμπρὰς καὶ καθαρὰς ἔχοντας ἐσθῆτας, ὁμοίως δὲ μὴ μόνον τὸ σῶμα καθαρὸν παρεχομένους πάσης ἀδίκου πράξεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἁγνεύουσαν. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 223.)

7 Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς ἀπεφαίνετο τοῖς θεοῖς εὔχεσθαι δεῖν τὰ ἀγαθὰ τοὺς φρονίμους ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀφρόνων· τοὺς γὰρ ἀσυνέτους ἀγνοεῖν τί ποτέ ἐστιν ἐν τῷ βίῳ κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθόν.

8 Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς ἔφασκε δεῖν ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἁπλῶς εὔχεσθαι τἀγαθά, καὶ μὴ κατὰ μέρος ὀνομάζειν, οἷον ἐξουσίαν, ἰσχύν, κάλλος, πλοῦτον, τἄλλα τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια· πολλάκις γὰρ τούτων ἕκαστον τοὺς κατ' ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτῶν τυχόντας τοῖς ὅλοις ἀνατρέπειν. καὶ τοῦτο γνοίη ἄν τις ἐπιστήσας τοῖς ἐν

[1] τὸν δὲ added by Herwerden.

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[1] Ll. 1364-1375. The passage runs:

Then, gazing Argos-ward, Polyneices prayed:
"Queen Hera—for thine am I since I wed
Adrastus' child, and dwell within thy land—
Grant me to slay my brother, and to stain
My warring hand with blood of victory!"

. . . .

[*Continued on p. 69.*]

The Pythagoreans divided the life of mankind into four ages, that of a child, a lad, a young man, and an old man; and they said that each one of these had its parallel in the changes which take place in the seasons in the year's course, assigning the spring to the child, the autumn to the man, the winter to the old man, and the summer to the lad.

The same Pythagoras taught that when men approach the gods to sacrifice, the garments they wear should be not costly, but only white and clean, and that likewise they should appear before the gods with not only a body clean of every unjust deed but also a soul that is undefiled.

Pythagoras declared that prudent men should pray to the gods for good things on behalf of imprudent men; for the foolish are ignorant of what in life is in very truth the good.

Pythagoras used to assert that in their supplications men should pray simply for "all good things," and not name them singly, as, for example, power, strength, beauty, wealth, and the like; for it frequently happens that any one of these works to the utter ruin of those who receive them in reply to their desire. And this may be recognized by any man who has reflected upon the lines[1] in *The Phoenician*

But unto golden-shielded Pallas' fane
Eteocles looked, and prayed: "Daughter of Zeus,
Grant that the conquering spear, of mine hand sped,
Yea, from this arm, may smite my brother's breast."
Tr. of Way in the *L.C.L.*

ταῖς Εὐριπίδου Φοινίσσαις στίχοις, ἐν οἷς οἱ περὶ τὸν Πολυνείκην εὔχονται τοῖς θεοῖς, ὧν ἡ ἀρχὴ

βλέψας ἐς Ἄργος,

ἕως

εἰς στέρν' ἀδελφοῦ τῆσδ' ἀπ' ὠλένης βαλεῖν.

οὗτοι γὰρ δοκοῦντες ἑαυτοῖς εὔχεσθαι τὰ κάλλιστα ταῖς ἀληθείαις καταρῶνται. (*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 295.)

9 Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα διαλεγόμενος πρὸς βίου σώφρονος ζῆλον καὶ πρὸς ἀνδρείαν τε καὶ καρτερίαν, ἔτι δὲ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετάς, ἴσα θεοῖς παρὰ τοῖς Κροτωνιάταις ἐτιμᾶτο.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 223.)

10. Ὅτι ὁ Πυθαγόρας φιλοσοφίαν, ἀλλ' οὐ σοφίαν ἐκάλει τὴν ἰδίαν αἵρεσιν. καταμεμφόμενος γὰρ τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ κεκλημένους ἑπτὰ σοφούς[1] ἔλεγεν, ὡς σοφὸς μὲν οὐδείς ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος ὢν καὶ πολλάκις διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τῆς φύσεως οὐκ ἰσχύων πάντα κατορθοῦν, ὁ δὲ ζηλῶν τὸν τοῦ σοφοῦ τρόπον τε καὶ βίον προσηκόντως ἂν φιλόσοφος ὀνομάζοιτο.

2 Ἀλλ' ὅμως τηλικαύτης προκοπῆς γενομένης περί τε Πυθαγόραν αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς μετ' ἐκεῖνον Πυθαγορείους καὶ τοσούτων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιοι γενόμενοι ταῖς πόλεσιν, οὗτοι τὸν πάντα τὰ καλὰ λυμαινόμενον φθόνον οὐ διέφυγον· οὐδὲν γάρ, οἶμαι, τῶν παρ' ἀνθρώποις καλῶν οὕτω συνέστηκεν ὥστε μηδεμίαν αὐτῷ φθοράν τε καὶ διάλυσιν γεννῆσαι τὸν πολυετῆ χρόνον. (*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 296.)

[1] So Herwerden: τοῖς . . . κεκλημένοις . . . σοφοῖς.

Maidens of Euripides which give the prayer of Polyneices to the gods, beginning

Then, gazing Argos-ward,

and ending

Yea, from this arm, may smite my brother's breast.

For Polyneices and Eteocles thought that they were praying for the best things for themselves, whereas in truth they were calling down curses upon their own heads.

During the time that Pythagoras was delivering many other discourses designed to inculcate the emulation of a sober life and manliness and perseverance and the other virtues, he received at the hands of the inhabitants of Croton honours the equal of those accorded to the gods.[1]

10. Pythagoras called the principles he taught *philosophia* or love of wisdom, but not *sophia* or wisdom. For he criticized the Seven Wise Men, as they were called, who lived before his time, saying that no man is wise, being human, and many a time, by reason of the weakness of his nature, has not the strength to bring all matters to a successful issue, but that he who emulates both the ways and the manner of life of a wise man may more fittingly be called a "lover of wisdom."

Although both Pythagoras himself and the Pythagoreans after his time made such advancement and were cause of so great blessings to the states of Greece, yet they did not escape the envy which besmirches all noble things. Indeed there is no noble thing among men, I suppose, which is of such a nature that the long passage of time works it no damage or destruction.

[1] *c.* 530 B.C.

11. Ὅτι Κροτωνιάτης τις Κύλων ὄνομα, τῇ οὐσίᾳ καὶ δόξῃ πρῶτος τῶν πολιτῶν, ἐπεθύμησε Πυθαγόρειος γενέσθαι. ὢν δὲ χαλεπὸς καὶ βίαιος τὸν τρόπον, ἔτι δὲ στασιαστής τε καὶ τυραννικός, ἀπεδοκιμάσθη. παροξυνθεὶς οὖν τῷ συστήματι τῶν Πυθαγορείων, ἑταιρείαν μεγάλην συνεστήσατο, καὶ διετέλει πάντα καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων κατ' αὐτῶν.

2 Ὅτι Λῦσις ὁ Πυθαγόρειος εἰς Θήβας τῆς Βοιωτίας γενόμενος διδάσκαλος Ἐπαμινώνδου, τοῦτον μὲν τέλειον ἄνδρα πρὸς ἀρετὴν κατέστησε, καὶ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ θετὸς ἐγένετο δι' εὔνοιαν. ὁ δὲ Ἐπαμινώνδας τῆς τε καρτερίας καὶ λιτότητος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν ἐκ τῆς Πυθαγορείου φιλοσοφίας ἐναύσματα[1] λαβών, οὐ μόνον Θηβαίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἐπρώτευσεν.

12. Ὅτι δὲ τῶν προγεγονότων ἀνδρῶν ἡ τῶν βίων ἀναγραφὴ δυσκολίαν μὲν παρέχεται τοῖς γράφουσιν, ὠφελεῖ δ' οὐ μετρίως τὸν κοινὸν βίον. μετὰ παρρησίας γὰρ δηλοῦσα τὰ καλῶς τε καὶ κακῶς[2] πραχθέντα τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς κοσμεῖ, τοὺς δὲ πονηροὺς ταπεινοῖ, διὰ τῶν οἰκείων ἑκάστοις[3] ἐγκωμίων τε καὶ ψόγων. ἔστι δ' ὁ μὲν ἔπαινος, ὡς ἄν τις εἴποι, ἔπαθλον ἀρετῆς ἀδάπανον, ὁ δὲ
2 ψόγος τιμωρία φαυλότητος ἄνευ πληγῆς. καλὸν δὲ τοῖς μεταγενεστέροις ὑποκεῖσθαι διότι βίον οἷον ἄν τις ἕληται ζῶν, τοιαύτης ἀξιωθήσεται μετὰ τὸν

[1] So Salmasius: ἐνάσματα.
[2] τε καὶ κακῶς added by Wurm; Büttner-Wobst suggests ἁμῶς for καλῶς.
[3] So Reiske: ἑκάστους.

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[1] The distinguished Theban general and statesman, c. 420–362 B.C.

11. A certain inhabitant of Croton, Cylon by name, the foremost citizen in wealth and repute, was eager to become a Pythagorean. But since he was a harsh man and violent in his ways, and both seditious and tyrannical as well, he was rejected by them. Consequently, being irritated at the order of the Pythagoreans, he formed a large party and never ceased working against them in every way possible both by word and by deed.

Lysis, the Pythagorean, came to Thebes in Boeotia and became the teacher of Epaminondas[1]; and he developed him, with respect to virtue, into a perfect man and became his father by adoption because of the affection he had for him. And Epaminondas, because of the incitements toward perseverance and simplicity and every other virtue which he received from the Pythagorean philosophy, became the foremost man, not only of Thebes, but of all who lived in his time.

12. To recount the lives of men of the past is a task which presents difficulties to writers and yet is of no little advantage to society as a whole. For such an account which clearly portrays in all frankness their evil as well as their noble deeds renders honour to the good and abases the wicked by means of the censures as well as the praises which appropriately come to each group respectively. And the praise constitutes, one may say, a reward of virtue which entails no cost, and the censure is a punishment of depravity which entails no physical chastisement. And it is an excellent thing for later generations to bear in mind, that whatever is the manner of life a man chooses to live while on this earth, such is the remembrance which he will be

θάνατον μνήμης, ἵνα μὴ περὶ τὰς τῶν λιθίνων μνημείων κατασκευὰς σπουδάζωσιν, ἃ καὶ τόπον ἕνα κατέχει καὶ φθορᾶς ὀξείας τυγχάνει, ἀλλὰ περὶ λόγον καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετάς, αἳ πάντη φοιτῶσι διὰ τῆς φήμης. ὁ δὲ χρόνος ὁ πάντα μαραίνων τἄλλα ταύτας ἀθανάτους φυλάττει, καὶ πρεσβύτερος γενό-
3 μενος αὐτὸς[1] ταύτας ποιεῖ νεωτέρας. δῆλον δὲ ἐπὶ τούτων[2] τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐγένετο τὸ προειρημένον[3]· πάλαι γὰρ γεγονότες ὥσπερ νῦν ὄντες ὑπὸ πάντων μνημονεύονται. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 223-224.)

13. Ὅτι Κῦρος ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς[4] ἐπειδὴ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων καὶ τῶν Μήδων τὴν χώραν κατεπολέμησε, ταῖς ἐλπίσι πᾶσαν περιελάμβανε τὴν οἰκουμένην. τῶν γὰρ δυνατῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἐθνῶν καταπεπολεμημένων ἐνόμιζε μηδένα μήτε βασιλέα μήτε δῆμον ὑποστήσεσθαι τὴν ἰδίαν δύναμιν· τῶν γὰρ ἐν ἐξουσίαις ἀνυπευθύνοις[5] ὄντων εἰώθασιν ἔνιοι τὴν εὐτυχίαν μὴ φέρειν κατ' ἄνθρωπον.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 296.)

14. Ὅτι ὁ Καμβύσης ἦν μὲν φύσει μανικὸς καὶ παρακεκινηκὼς τοῖς λογισμοῖς, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ὠμὸν καὶ ὑπερήφανον ἐποίει τὸ τῆς βασιλείας μέγεθος.

2 Ὅτι Καμβύσης ὁ Πέρσης μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν Μέμφεως καὶ Πηλουσίου τὴν εὐτυχίαν οὐ φέρων ἀνθρωπίνως, τὸν Ἀμάσιος τοῦ πρότερον βεβασιλευκότος τάφον ἀνέσκαψεν. εὑρὼν δὲ ἐν τῇ θήκῃ

[1] So Dindorf: αὐτάς.
[2] τούτων added by Oldfather.
[3] δῆλον . . . τὸ προειρημένον Vogel: ζῆλος . . . προειρημένος.
[4] βασιλεὺς added by Mai.
[5] So Dindorf: ἀνυπευθύνων.

thought worthy of after his death; this principle should be followed, in order that later generations may not set their hearts upon the erection of memorials in stone which are limited to a single spot and subject to quick decay, but upon reason and the virtues in general which range everywhere upon the lips of fame. Time, which withers all else, preserves for these virtues an immortality, and the further it may itself advance in age, the fresher the youth it imparts to them. And what we have said is clearly exemplified in the case of these men who have been mentioned[1]; for though they were of the distant past, all mankind speaks of them as if they were alive to-day.

13. Cyrus, the king of the Persians, after he had reduced the land of the Babylonians and the Medes,[2] was encompassing in his hopes all the inhabited world. For now that he had subdued these powerful and great nations he thought that there was no king or people which could withstand his might; since of those who are possessed of irresponsible power, some are wont not to bear their good fortune as human beings should.

14. Cambyses[3] was by nature half-mad and his powers of reasoning perverted, and the greatness of his kingdom rendered him much the more cruel and arrogant.

Cambyses the Persian, after he had taken Memphis and Pelusium,[4] since he could not bear his good fortune as men should, dug up the tomb of Amasis, the former king of Egypt. And finding his mummified

[1] Diodorus is probably still speaking about the Pythagoreans.
[2] 550 B.C.
[3] King of Persia, 529–522 B.C.
[4] 525 B.C.

τὸν νεκρὸν τεταριχευμένον, τό τε σῶμα τοῦ τετελευτηκότος ᾐκίσατο καὶ πᾶσαν ὕβριν εἰς τὸν οὐκ αἰσθανόμενον εἰσενεγκάμενος[1] τελευταῖον προσέταξε κατακαῦσαι τὸν νεκρόν. οὐκ εἰωθότων γὰρ πυρὶ παραδιδόναι τῶν ἐγχωρίων τὰ σώματα τῶν τετελευτηκότων, ὑπελάμβανε καὶ διὰ τούτου τοῦ τρόπου πλημμελήσειν τὸν πάλαι προτετελευτηκότα.

3 Ὅτι Καμβύσης μέλλων στρατεύειν ἐπ' Αἰθιοπίαν[2] ἔπεμψε μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπ' Ἀμμωνίους, προστάξας τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τὸ μαντεῖον συλήσαντας ἐμπρῆσαι, τούς τε περιοικοῦντας τὸ ἱερὸν ἅπαντας ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 224-225.)

15. Ὅτι Καμβύσου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως κυριεύσαντος πάσης Αἰγύπτου, πρὸς τοῦτον οἱ Λίβυες καὶ Κυρηναῖοι, συνεστρατευκότες τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις, ἀπέστειλαν δῶρα, καὶ τὸ προσταττόμενον ποιήσειν ἐπηγγείλαντο. (*Const. Exc.* 1, p. 397.)

16. Ὅτι ὁ Πολυκράτης ὁ τῶν Σαμίων τύραννος εἰς τοὺς ἐπικαιροτάτους τόπους ἀποστέλλων τριήρεις ἐλῄστευεν ἅπαντας τοὺς πλέοντας, ἀπεδίδου δὲ μόνοις τοῖς συμμάχοις τὰ ληφθέντα. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς μεμφομένους τῶν συνήθων ἔλεγεν ὡς πάντες οἱ φίλοι πλείονα χάριν ἕξουσιν ἀπολαβόντες ἅπερ ἀπέβαλον ἤπερ ἀρχὴν μηδὲν ἀποβαλόντες.

2 Ὅτι ταῖς ἀδίκοις πράξεσιν ὡς ἐπίπαν ἀκολουθεῖ τις νέμεσις οἰκείους τιμωρίας τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσιν ἐπιφέρουσα.

[1] Hertlein, Vogel add τὸ after εἰσενεγκάμενος.
[2] So Valesius: Αἰθιοπίας.

[1] The site of the oracle of Ammon, the present oasis of Siwah.
[2] *c.* 540–523 B.C.

corpse in the coffin, he outraged the body of the dead man, and after showing every despite to the senseless corpse, he finally ordered it to be burned. For since it was not the practice of the natives to consign the bodies of their dead to fire, he supposed that in this fashion also he would be giving offence to him who had been long dead.

When Cambyses was on the point of setting out upon his campaign against Ethiopia, he dispatched a part of his army against the inhabitants of Ammonium,[1] giving orders to its commanders to plunder and burn the oracle and to make slaves of all who dwelt near the shrine.

15. After Cambyses, the king of the Persians, had made himself lord of all Egypt, the Libyans and Cyrenaeans, who had been allies of the Egyptians, sent presents to him and declared their willingness to obey his every command.

16. Polycrates the tyrant of the Samians,[2] used to dispatch triremes to the most suitable places and plunder all who were on the seas, and he would return the booty which he had taken only to those who were allies of his.[3] And to those of his companions who criticized this practice he used to say that all his friends would feel more grateful to him by getting back what they had lost than by having lost nothing in the first place.

Unjust deeds, as a general thing, carry in their train a retribution which exacts appropriate punishments of the wrongdoers.[4]

[3] Polycrates' purpose was clearly to force all who sailed the seas to become his allies.
[4] The reference could well be to the deserved punishment of Polycrates (cp. Herodotus, 3. 125).

3 Ὅτι πᾶσα χάρις ἀμεταμέλητος οὖσα καλὸν ἔχει καρπὸν τὸν παρὰ τὸν[1] τῶν εὐεργετουμένων ἔπαινον· καὶ γὰρ ἂν μὴ πάντες, εἷς γέ τις[2] τῶν εὖ πεπονθότων ἐνίοτε τὴν ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων ἀπέδωκε[3] χάριν.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 296.)

4 Ὅτι Λυδοί τινες φεύγοντες τὴν Ὀροίτου τοῦ σατράπου δυναστείαν κατέπλευσαν εἰς Σάμον μετὰ πολλῶν χρημάτων καὶ τοῦ Πολυκράτους ἱκέται ἐγίνοντο. ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτοὺς φιλοφρόνως ὑπεδέξατο, μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ πάντας ἀποσφάξας τῶν χρημάτων ἐγκρατὴς ἐγένετο.

17. Ὅτι Θετταλὸς ὁ Πεισιστράτου υἱὸς σοφὸς ὑπάρχων ἀπείπατο τὴν τυραννίδα, καὶ τὴν ἰσότητα ζηλώσας μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς ἠξιοῦτο παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι, Ἵππαρχος καὶ Ἱππίας, βίαιοι καὶ χαλεποὶ καθεστῶτες ἐτυράννουν τῆς πόλεως. πολλὰ δὲ παρανομοῦντες εἰς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, καί τινος μειρακίου διαφόρου τὴν ὄψιν Ἵππαρχος ἐρα-
2 σθεὶς διὰ τοῦτο ἐκινδύνευσεν. . . . ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τοὺς τυράννους ἐπίθεσις καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὴν τῆς πατρίδος ἐλευθερίαν σπουδὴ κοινὴ τῶν προειρημένων ὑπῆρξεν ἀνδρῶν· ἡ δὲ ἐν ταῖς βασάνοις παράστασις τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὸ καρτερικὸν τῆς τῶν δεινῶν ὑπομονῆς περὶ μόνον ἐγενήθη τὸν Ἀριστογείτονα, ὃς ἐν τοῖς φοβερωτάτοις καιροῖς δύο μέγιστα διετήρησε, τήν τε πρὸς τοὺς φίλους πίστιν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τιμωρίαν. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 225.)

[1] τὸν added by Capps.
[2] τις added by Herwerden. [3] So Dindorf: ἔδωκε.

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[1] A by-name of Hegesistratus.
[2] Hippias was the real ruler, 527–510 B.C.; Hipparchus was slain in 514 B.C.

Every act of kindness, since attended by no regret, bears goodly fruit in the praise of those who benefit therefrom; for even if not all the recipients repay the kindness, at least some one of them, it sometimes happens, makes payment on behalf of all.

Certain Lydians, who were fleeing from the domineering rule of the satrap Oroetes, took ship to Samos, bringing with them many possessions, and became suppliants of Polycrates. And at first he received them kindly, but after a little time he put them all to the sword and confiscated their possessions.

17. Thettalus,[1] the son of Peisistratus, was wise enough to renounce the tyranny, and since he strove after equality, he enjoyed great favour among the citizens of Athens; but the other sons, Hipparchus and Hippias,[2] being violent and harsh men, maintained a tyranny over the city. They committed many other acts of lawlessness against the Athenians, and Hipparchus, becoming enamoured of a youth[3] of extraordinary beauty, because of that got into a dangerous situation. . . .[4] Now the attack upon the tyrants and the earnest desire to achieve the freedom of the fatherland were shared in by all the men mentioned above; but the unyielding steadfastness of soul amid the tortures and the stout courage to endure cruel pains were shown by Aristogeiton alone, who, in the most fearful moments, maintained two supreme virtues, fidelity to his friends and vengeance on his enemies.

[3] Harmodius; Thucydides (6. 54-57) gives the most trustworthy account of this famous affair; cp. Book 9. 1. 4.
[4] The rest of the story, such as the indignation of the citizens, the attack upon the tyrants in 514 B.C., the slaying of Hipparchus and Harmodius, and the like, are lacking in the Greek.

3 Ὅτι ὁ Ἀριστογείτων πᾶσιν ἐποίησε φανερὸν ὡς ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς εὐγένεια κατισχύει τὰς μεγίστας τοῦ σώματος ἀλγηδόνας.

18. Ὅτι Ζήνωνος τοῦ φιλοσόφου διὰ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν τὴν κατὰ τοῦ Νεάρχου τοῦ τυράννου κατὰ τὰς ἐν ταῖς βασάνοις ἀνάγκας ἐρωτωμένου ὑπὸ Νεάρχου τίνες ἦσαν οἱ συνειδότες, Ὤφελον γάρ, ἔφησεν, ὥσπερ τῆς γλώττης εἰμὶ κύριος, οὕτω καὶ τοῦ σώματος. (*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 296-297.)

2 Ὅτι τυραννουμένης τῆς πατρίδος ὑπὸ Νεάρχου
σκληρῶς, ἐπιβουλὴν κατὰ τοῦ τυράννου συνεστή-
σατο. καταφανὴς δὲ γενόμενος, καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐν
ταῖς βασάνοις ἀνάγκας διερωτώμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ
Νεάρχου τίνες ἦσαν οἱ συνειδότες, Ὤφελον γάρ,
ἔφησεν, ὥσπερ τῆς γλώττης εἰμὶ κύριος, οὕτως
3 ὑπῆρχον καὶ τοῦ σώματος. τοῦ δὲ τυράννου πολὺ
μᾶλλον ταῖς βασάνοις προσεπιτείναντος, ὁ Ζήνων
μέχρι μέν τινος διεκαρτέρει· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα σπεύ-
δων ἀπολυθῆναί ποτε τῆς ἀνάγκης καὶ ἅμα τιμω-
ρήσασθαι τὸν Νέαρχον, ἐπενοήσατό τι τοιοῦτον.
4 κατὰ τὴν ἐπιτονωτάτην ἐπίτασιν[1] τῆς βασάνου
προσποιηθεὶς ἐνδιδόναι τὴν ψυχὴν ταῖς ἀλγηδόσιν
ἀνέκραγεν, Ἄνετε, ἐρῶ γὰρ πᾶσαν ἀλήθειαν. ὡς
δ' ἀνῆκαν,[2] ἠξίωσεν αὐτὸν ἀκοῦσαι κατ' ἰδίαν
προσελθόντα· πολλὰ γὰρ εἶναι τῶν λέγεσθαι μελ-
5 λόντων ἃ συνοίσει τηρεῖν ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ. τοῦ δὲ
τυράννου προσελθόντος ἀσμένως καὶ τὴν ἀκοὴν τῷ
στόματι παραβαλόντος, ὁ Ζήνων τοῦ δυνάστου
περιχανὼν τὸ οὖς ἐνέπρισε τοῖς ὀδοῦσι. τῶν δὲ
ὑπηρετῶν ταχὺ προσδραμόντων, καὶ πᾶσαν τῷ

[1] So Valesius: ἐπίστασιν.
[2] So Reiske: ἀνῆκεν.

Aristogeiton made it clear to all men that nobility of soul is able to prevail over the greatest agonies of the body.

18. When Zeno the philosopher[1] was suffering the agonies of the torture because of the conspiracy he had entered into against the tyrant Nearchus and was being asked by Nearchus who his fellow conspirators were, he replied, "Would that I were as much the master of my body as I am of my tongue!"

When Zeno's native city was being ground down by the tyranny of Nearchus, Zeno formed a conspiracy against the tyrant. But he was found out, and when he was asked by Nearchus, while suffering the agonies of the torture, who his fellow conspirators were, he replied, "Would that I were as much the master of my body as I am of my tongue!" And when the tyrant made the torture more and more severe, Zeno still withstood it for a while; and then, being eager to be rid at last of the agony and at the same time to be revenged upon Nearchus, he devised the following plan. During the greatest intensity of the torture, pretending that his spirit was yielding to his bodily pains, he cried out, "Relax it! I will tell the whole truth." And when they did so, he asked Nearchus to come near and listen to him privately, asserting that many matters he was about to disclose would best be kept secret. When the tyrant came up to him readily and placed his ear close to Zeno's lips, Zeno took the tyrant's ear into his mouth and sank his teeth into it. And when the attendants quickly approached and applied every

[1] Zeno of Elea (Velia in Italy) in the middle of the 5th century B.C.; see the following paragraph.

βασανιζομένῳ προσφερόντων τιμωρίαν εἰς τὸ χα-
6 λάσαι τὸ δῆγμα, πολὺ μᾶλλον προσενεφύετο. τέλος δ' οὐ δυνάμενοι τἀνδρὸς νικῆσαι τὴν εὐψυχίαν, παρεκέντησαν[1] αὐτὸν ἵνα διίῃ τοὺς ὀδόντας. καὶ τοιούτῳ τεχνήματι τῶν ἀλγηδόνων ἀπελύθη καὶ παρὰ τοῦ τυράννου τὴν ἐνδεχομένην ἔλαβε τιμωρίαν. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 225-226.)

[Πολλαῖς ὕστερον γενεαῖς Δωριεὺς ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος καταντήσας εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀπολαβὼν ἔκτισε πόλιν Ἡράκλειαν. ταχὺ δ' αὐτῆς αὐξομένης, οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι φθονήσαντες ἅμα καὶ φοβηθέντες μήποτε πλέον ἰσχύσασα τῆς Καρχηδόνος ἀφέληται τῶν Φοινίκων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, στρατεύσαντες ἐπ' αὐτὴν μεγάλαις δυνάμεσι καὶ κατὰ κράτος ἑλόντες κατέσκαψαν. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις χρόνοις ἀναγράψομεν.] (Diodorus, 4. 23. 3.)

19. Ὅτι τοῖς ἐπί τινων πραγμάτων διοριζομένοις ὡς οὐκ ἄν ποτε πραχθησομένων ἔοικεν ἐπακολουθεῖν ὡσανεί τις νέμεσις ἐλέγχουσα τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀσθένειαν.

2 Ὅτι Μεγαβύζου τοῦ καὶ Ζωπύρου, φίλου ὄντος Δαρείου τοῦ βασιλέως, μαστιγώσαντος δ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἀκρωτήρια ἀποκόψαντος διὰ τὸ αὐτόμολον[2] γενέσθαι καὶ Βαβυλῶνα προδοῦναι Πέρσαις, φασὶ βαρέως φέρειν τὸν Δαρεῖον καὶ εἰπεῖν βούλεσθαι τὸν Μεγάβυζον, εἰ δυνατὸν ἦν,

[1] So Döhner: παρεκάλησαν. [2] So Dindorf: σύντονον.

torment to make Zeno relax his hold, he held on all the tighter. Finally, being unable to shake the fortitude of the man, they stabbed him to death that they might in this way break the hold of his teeth. By this device Zeno got release from the agonies he was suffering and exacted of the tyrant the only punishment within his grasp.

[Many generations later Dorieus[1] the Lacedaemonian came to Sicily, and taking back the land founded the city of Heracleia.[2] Since the city grew rapidly, the Carthaginians, being jealous of it and also afraid that it would grow stronger than Carthage and take from the Phoenicians their sovereignty, came up against it with a great army, took it by storm, and razed it to the ground. But this affair we shall discuss in detail in connection with the period in which it falls.]

19. When men make definite pronouncements on certain matters, saying that they can never possibly be brought to pass, their words usually are followed by a kind of retribution which exposes the weakness which is the lot of mankind.[3]

When Megabyzus, who was also called Zopyrus and was a friend of King Darius, had scourged himself and mutilated his countenance,[4] because he had resolved to become a deserter[5] and betray Babylon to the Persians, we are told that Darius was deeply moved and declared that he would rather have Mega-

[1] *c.* 510 B.C. An account of the chequered career of Dorieus, of the royal line of Sparta, is given by Herodotus, 5. 41-48.

[2] On the south coast of Sicily near Agrigentum.

[3] The passage probably refers to the remark of a Babylonian that Darius would take Babylon when mules bear offspring. See Herodotus, 3. 151 and *passim* for details of the account of the taking of Babylon.

[4] Literally, "cut off the extremities of his face," *i.e.* the nose and ears; the story is given by Herodotus, 3. 153 ff., who calls Zopyrus the son of Megabyzus. 520-519 B.C.

[5] In order to trick the Babylonians.

ἄρτιον γενόμενον ἢ δέκα Βαβυλῶνας λαβεῖν ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν, καίπερ ἀπράκτου τῆς ἐπιθυμίας οὔσης.

3 Ὅτι οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι στρατηγὸν εἵλαντο Μεγάβυζον, ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι τὴν εὐεργεσίαν τῆς μελλούσης ἀκολουθεῖν ἀπωλείας οἱονεὶ δέλεαρ αὐτοῖς προθήσει.[1]

4 Ὅτι τὸ[2] ἀποτέλεσμα τῶν ἐπιτευγμάτων ἱκανόν ἐστι μαρτύριον τῶν προρρηθέντων.

5 Ὅτι Δαρεῖος τῆς Ἀσίας σχεδὸν ὅλης κυριεύσας τὴν Εὐρώπην[3] ἐπεθύμει καταστρέψασθαι. τὰς γὰρ τοῦ πλείονος ἐπιθυμίας ἀορίστους ἔχων καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῆς Περσικῆς δυνάμεως πεποιθώς, περιελάμβανε τὴν οἰκουμένην, αἰσχρὸν εἶναι νομίζων τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ βεβασιλευκότας καταδεεστέρας ἀφορμὰς κτησαμένους τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἐθνῶν καταπεπολεμηκέναι, αὐτὸν δὲ τηλικαύτας ἔχοντα δυνάμεις ἡλίκας οὐδεὶς τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἔσχε μηδεμίαν ἀξιόλογον πρᾶξιν κατειργάσθαι.

6 Ὅτι οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ διὰ τὸν τῶν Περσῶν φόβον ἐκλιπόντες τὴν Λῆμνον ἔφασκον ὡς διά τινας χρησμοὺς τοῦτο ποιεῖν, καὶ ταύτην τῷ Μιλτιάδῃ παρέδωκαν. ταῦτα δὲ πράξαντος Ἕρμωνος[4] τοῦ προεστηκότος τῶν Τυρρηνῶν, συνέβη τὰς τοιαύτας

[1] So Wurm: προθήσειν.
[2] τὸ Mai: δέ.
[3] So Dindorf: τῆς Εὐρώπης.

byzus whole again, if it were possible, than bring ten Babylons under his power, although his wish could not be achieved.

The Babylonians chose Megabyzus to be their general, being unaware that the benefaction he would render them would be a kind of bait to entice them to the destruction which was soon to follow.

The successful turn of events constitutes a sufficient proof of what has been predicted.[1]

After Darius had made himself master of practically the whole of Asia, he desired to subdue Europe.[2] For since the desires he entertained for further possessions were boundless and he had confidence in the greatness of the power of Persia, he was set upon embracing in his power the inhabited world, thinking it to be a disgraceful thing that the kings before his time, though possessing inferior resources, had reduced in war the greatest nations, whereas he, who had forces greater than any man before him had ever acquired, had accomplished no deed worthy of mention.

When the Tyrrhenians[3] were leaving Lemnos, because of their fear of the Persians, they claimed that they were doing so because of certain oracles, and they gave the island over to Miltiades.[4] The leader of the Tyrrhenians in this affair was Hermon,

[1] This probably refers to the boast of the Babylonians (Herodotus, 3. 151) that the Persians would only take Babylon "when mules bear offspring." A little later one of Zopyrus' mules foaled.

[2] 519 B.C.

[3] *c.* 520 B.C. Not to be confused with the Tyrrhenians (Etruscans) of Italy. These Tyrrhenians came to Lemnos in all probability from Asia Minor *c.* 700 B.C.

[4] The famous hero of Marathon, 490 B.C.

[4] Ἕρμωνος added by Mai.

χάριτας ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνων τῶν χρόνων Ἑρμωνείους προσαγορευθῆναι. (*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 297-298.)

20. Ὅτι Λευκίου Ταρκυνίου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων βασιλέως ὁ υἱὸς Σέξτος ἐξεδήμησεν εἰς πόλιν Κολλατίαν καλουμένην, καὶ κατέλυσε πρὸς Λεύκιον Ταρκύνιον ἀνεψιὸν τοῦ βασιλέως, ἔχοντα γυναῖκα Λουκρητίαν, ἥτις ἦν εὐπρεπὴς μὲν τὴν ὄψιν, σώφρων δὲ τὸν τρόπον. ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου γὰρ ὄντος τἀνδρός, ὁ ξένος νυκτὸς ἐγερθεὶς ἐκ τοῦ κοιτῶνος ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ[1] τὴν γυναῖκα κοιμωμένην ἔν τινι
2 θαλάμῳ. ἐπιστὰς δὲ ταῖς θύραις ἄφνω καὶ σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος, παρασκευάσασθαι μὲν ἔφησεν οἰκέτην ἐπιτήδειον εἰς ἀναίρεσιν, συγκατασφάξειν δὲ κἀκείνην, ὡς ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ κατειλημμένην καὶ τετευχυῖαν τῆς προσηκούσης τιμωρίας ὑπὸ τοῦ συγγενεστάτου τῷ συνοικοῦντι. διόπερ αἱρετώτερον ὑπάρχειν ὑπουργῆσαι ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις αὐτοῦ σιωπῶσαν· λήψεσθαι δὲ ἔπαθλον τῆς χάριτος δωρεάς τε μεγάλας καὶ τὴν μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ συμβίωσιν καὶ γενήσεσθαι[2] βασίλισσαν, ἰδιωτικῆς ἑστίας ἐξηλλαγ-
3 μένην ἡγεμονίαν. ἡ δὲ Λουκρητία διὰ τὸ παράδοξον ἐκπλαγῆς γενομένη, καὶ φοβηθεῖσα μήποτε ταῖς ἀληθείαις δόξῃ διὰ τὴν μοιχείαν ἀνῃρῆσθαι, τότε μὲν ἡσυχίαν ἔσχεν· ἡμέρας δὲ γενομένης ὁ Σέξτος ἐχωρίσθη· ἡ δὲ ἐκάλεσε τοὺς οἰκείους, καὶ ἠξίου μὴ περιιδεῖν ἀτιμώρητον τὸν ἀσεβήσαντα εἰς ξενίαν ἅμα καὶ συγγένειαν. ἑαυτῇ δὲ φήσασα μὴ

[1] ἐπὶ added by Reiske. [2] So Valesius: γενέσθαι.

[1] These are presumably presents made out of dire necessity. Modern historians say that Miltiades "conquered" Lemnos *c.* 510 or *c.* 493 B.C.; see Herodotus, 6. 140.

[2] 535–510 B.C.

and as a result presents of this kind have from that time been called "gifts of Hermon."[1]

20. Sextus, the son of Lucius Tarquinius (Superbus), the king of the Romans,[2] left[3] and came to the city of Collatia, as it was called, and stopped at the home of Lucius Tarquinius,[4] a cousin of the king, whose wife was Lucretia, a woman of great beauty and virtuous in character. And Lucretia's husband being with the army in camp, the guest, awakening, left his bed-room during the night and set out to the wife who was sleeping in a certain chamber. And suddenly taking his stand at the door and drawing his sword, he announced that he had a slave all ready for slaughter, and that he would slay her together with the slave, as having been taken in adultery and having received at the hand of her husband's nearest of kin the punishment she deserved. Therefore, he continued, it would be the wiser thing for her to submit to his desires without calling out, and as a reward for her favour she would receive great gifts and be his wife and become queen, exchanging the hearth of a private citizen for the first place in the state. Lucretia, panic-stricken at so unexpected a thing and fearing that men would in truth believe that she had been slain because of adultery, made no outcry at the time. But when the day came and Sextus departed, she summoned her kinsmen and asked them not to allow the man to go unpunished who had sinned against the laws both of hospitality and of kinship. As for herself, she said, it was not

[3] 510 B.C. He was in the Roman army which was besieging the city of Ardea; see Livy, 1. 57 ff.; Dionysius Hal. 4. 64 ff.; Dio Cassius, frag. 10. 12 ff.

[4] *He had the surname Collatinus.*

προσήκειν ἐφορᾶν τὸν ἥλιον τηλικαύτης ὕβρεως πεπειραμένην, ξιφιδίῳ πατάξασα τὸ στῆθος ἑαυτῆς ἐτελεύτησεν. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 226-227.)

21. Ὅτι τῆς Λουκρητίας μοιχευθείσης παρὰ Σέξτου καὶ ἑαυτὴν ἀνελούσης διὰ τὸ ἁμάρτημα, οὐκ ἄξιον ἡγούμεθα τὸ γενναῖον τῆς προαιρέσεως παραλιπεῖν ἀνεπισήμαντον. τὴν γὰρ ἐπιδοῦσαν ἑκουσίως τὸ ζῆν τοῖς μεταγενεστέροις εἰς καλὸν ζῆλον προσηκόντως ἂν εὐφημίας ἀξιοῖμεν ἀθανάτου, ὅπως αἱ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἁγνείαν κατὰ πᾶν ἀνεπίληπτον παρέχεσθαι προαιρούμεναι πρὸς ἐπι-
2 τετευγμένον ἀρχέτυπον παραβάλωνται. αἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλαι γυναῖκες κἂν φανερῶς τι τῶν τοιούτων πράξωσι, κατακρύπτουσι τὸ συντελεσθέν, εὐλαβούμεναι τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων τιμωρίαν· ἡ δὲ τὸ λάθρα πραχθὲν ποιήσασα περιβόητον ἀπέσφαξεν ἑαυτήν, καὶ τὴν τοῦ βίου τελευτὴν καλλίστην ὑπὲρ
3 αὑτῆς ἀπολογίαν ἀπέλιπε. καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπὶ τῶν ἀκουσίων τὴν συγγνώμην προβαλλομένων, αὕτη τὴν μετὰ βίας ὕβριν ἐτιμήσατο θανάτου, ἵνα μηδ' εἴ τις ἐπιθυμῇ βλασφημεῖν, τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχῃ[1] κατηγορεῖν τῆς προαιρέσεως ὡς[2] ἑκουσίου γεγενημένης.
4 τῶν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων φύσει τὰς λοιδορίας ἐπαίνων προτιμώντων, τὴν τῶν φιλαιτίων ἀπέκοψε κατηγορίαν, αἰσχρὸν εἶναι νομίζουσα τῶν ἄλλων εἰπεῖν τινα διότι ζῶντος τοῦ κατὰ νόμους συμβιοῦντος ἀνδρὸς ἑτέρου παρανόμως ἐπειράθη, καὶ καθ' οὗ[3] οἱ νόμοι τοῖς πράξασι θάνατον τιθέασι τὸ πρόστιμον,

[1] ἐπιθυμῇ . . . ἔχῃ Boissevain, ἐπιθυμοίη . . . ἔχοι Dindorf, Vogel: ἐπιθυμῇ . . . ἔχει.
[2] ὡς added by Dindorf.
[3] So Boissevain, καθ' ὧν Dindorf, Vogel: καθόν.

proper for the victim of a deed of such wanton insolence to look upon the sun, and plunging a dagger into her breast she slew herself.

21. In connection with the violation of Lucretia by Sextus and her suicide because of the wrong done her, we do not believe it would be right to leave no record of the nobility of her choice. For the woman who renounced life of her own will in order that later generations might emulate her deed we should judge to be fittingly worthy of immortal praise, in order that women who choose to maintain the purity of their persons altogether free from censure may compare themselves with an authentic example. Other women, indeed, even when such an act as this on their part is known, conceal what has been done, as a means of avoiding the punishment which is meted out for guilty acts; but she made known to the world what had been done in secret and then slew herself, leaving in the end of her life her fairest defence. And whereas other women advance a claim for pardon in matters done against their will, she fixed the penalty of death for the outrage done to her by force, in order that, even if one should wish to defame her, he should not have it in his power to condemn her choice as having been made of her own free will. For since men by nature prefer slander to praise, she cut the ground from under the accusation men who love to find fault might raise; for she considered it to be shameful that anyone could say that while her husband, to whom she was wedded in accordance with the laws, was still living, she had had relations with another man, contrary to the laws, and shameful also that she who had been involved in an act for which the

τοῦτο παθοῦσαν τὸν πλείω χρόνον[1] φιλοψυχεῖν, ἵνα τὸν πάντως ὀφειλόμενον παρὰ τῆς φύσεως θάνατον βραχὺ προλαβοῦσα τῆς αἰσχύνης ἀλλάξηται τοὺς μεγίστους ἐπαίνους. τοιγαροῦν οὐ μόνον θνητοῦ βίου δόξαν ἀθάνατον ἀντικατηλλάξατο διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀρετῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς καὶ πάντας τοὺς πολίτας προετρέψατο λαβεῖν ἀπαραίτητον τιμωρίαν παρὰ τῶν εἰς αὐτὴν παρανομησάντων.

22. Ὅτι Λεύκιος Ταρκύνιος ὁ βασιλεὺς τυραννικῶς καὶ βιαίως ἄρχων τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς εὐπόρους τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀνῄρει, ψευδεῖς ἐπιφέρων αἰτίας ἕνεκεν τοῦ νοσφίσασθαι τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν. διόπερ Λεύκιος Ἰούνιος, ὀρφανὸς ὢν καὶ πάντων Ῥωμαίων πλουσιώτατος, δι' ἀμφότερα τὴν τοῦ Ταρκυνίου πλεονεξίαν ὑπώπτευεν· ἀδελφιδοῦς δ' ὢν[2] αὐτοῦ καὶ παρ' ἕκαστα τῷ βασιλεῖ συνών,[3] προσεποιήθη μωρὸς εἶναι, ἅμα μὲν βουλόμενος τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δύνασθαί τι φθόνον ἐκκλίνειν, ἅμα δ' ἀνυπονοήτως παρατηρεῖν τὸ πραττόμενον καὶ τοῖς τῆς βασιλείας ἐφεδρεύειν καιροῖς.

23. Ὅτι οἱ Συβαρῖται μετὰ τριάκοντα μυριάδων ἐκστρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς Κροτωνιάτας καὶ πόλεμον ἄδικον ἐπανελόμενοι τοῖς ὅλοις ἔπταισαν, καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες ἐπιδεξίως ἱκανὸν παράδειγμα τὴν ἰδίαν ἀπώλειαν κατέλιπον τοῦ

[1] So Dindorf: τῶν πλείω χρόνων.
[2] δ' ὢν added by Dindorf.
[3] So Boissevain, σύνθοινος Dindorf, Vogel: συνθον (no accent).

[1] Much the same liberty has been taken with the translation as the Byzantine excerptor undoubtedly took with the Greek of Diodorus, who never went to quite such pains to point a moral or was so involved.

laws decree the penalty of death upon the guilty should cling to life any longer. And so she chose by a brief anticipation of death, a debt that in any case she owed to nature, to exchange disgrace for the highest approval.[1] Consequently, not only did she win immortal glory in exchange for mortal life through her own act of virtue, but she also impelled her kinsmen and all the people to exact implacable punishment from those who had committed this lawless act against her.

22. King Lucius Tarquinius ruled in a tyrannical and violent fashion and made it his practice to slay the wealthy citizens among the Romans, advancing false charges against them in order to appropriate their possessions. Consequently Lucius Junius (Brutus), since he was an orphan and the wealthiest of all the Romans, for both these reasons viewed with mistrust Tarquin's grasping ambition; and because he was the king's nephew and therefore close to him on every occasion, he acted the part of a stupid person, his purpose being both to avoid arousing envy because of any ability of his, and at the same time to observe, without rousing suspicion, whatever was taking place and to watch for the favourable moment to strike at the royal power.

23. The people of Sybaris who took the field with three hundred thousand men against the inhabitants of Croton and had entered upon an unjust war, were completely unsuccessful[2]; and since they were not shrewd enough to bear their prosperity, they left their own destruction as a sufficient warning example

[2] The war, which took place in 510 B.C., is described more fully in Book 12. 9-10.

πολὺ μᾶλλον δεῖν προσέχειν ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις εὐτυχίαις ἤπερ ἐν ταῖς ταλαιπωρίαις.

24. Ὅτι περὶ Ἡροδότου φησὶν ὁ Διόδωρος, Καὶ ταῦτα παρεξέβημεν οὐχ οὕτως Ἡροδότου κατηγορῆσαι βουληθέντες ὡς ὑποδεῖξαι ὅτι τῶν λόγων οἱ θαυμάσιοι τοὺς ἀληθεῖς κατισχύειν εἰώθασιν.

2 Ὅτι προσῆκόν ἐστι τιμᾶσθαι τὴν ἀρετήν, κἂν ᾖ παρὰ γυναιξίν.

3 Ὅτι Ἀθηναῖοι δεξιῶς τῇ νίκῃ χρησάμενοι καὶ νικήσαντες Βοιωτούς τε καὶ Χαλκιδεῖς, εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης Χαλκίδος ἐκυρίευσαν. ἐκ τῆς ὠφελείας τῆς τῶν Βοιωτῶν δεκάτην[1] ἅρμα χαλκοῦν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνέθεσαν τόδε τὸ ἐλεγεῖον γράψαντες,[2]

ἔθνεα Βοιωτῶν καὶ Χαλκιδέων δαμάσαντες
παῖδες Ἀθηναίων ἔργμασιν ἐν πολέμου[3]
δεσμῷ ἐν ἀχλυόεντι σιδηρέῳ ἔσβεσαν ὕβριν·
ὧν ἵππους δεκάτην Παλλάδι τάσδ᾽ ἔθεσαν.

25. Ὅτι τὸ κατακαίειν τὰ ἱερὰ παρὰ Ἑλλήνων ἔμαθον Πέρσαι, τὴν αὐτὴν τοῖς προαδικήσασιν ἀποδιδόντες ὕβριν.

[1] δεκάτην Vogel: δεκάτης.
[2] So the MSS., ἐπιγράψαντες Herwerden, Vogel.
[3] So Dindorf: πολέμῳ.

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[1] Over the Spartans; *c.* 506 B.C.

[2] This is the form in which Herodotus (5. 77) quoted the inscription as he read it upon the four-horse chariot. The original inscription was destroyed in 480 B.C. by the Persians when they sacked and burned the Acropolis and either melted down or carried off the bronze chariot. A sizable fragment of each of the two inscriptions has been recovered (*I.G.* i². 394; M. N. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, 12, 43). The original inscription stressed the chains, giving the lines of the inscription before us in the order 3, 2, 1, 4.

that men should be on their guard far more in times of their own good fortunes than of their afflictions.

24. Diodorus says with respect to Herodotus, "We have made this digression, not so much out of any desire to criticize Herodotus, as to show by examples that tales of wonder are wont to prevail over tales of truth."

It is fitting that bravery be honoured, even when it is shown by women.

The Athenians made a clever use of their victory,[1] and after defeating the Boeotians and Chalcidians, they at once after the battle made themselves masters of the city of Chalcis. And as a tenth part of the booty won from the Boeotians they dedicated a bronze chariot on the Acropolis, inscribing upon it the following elegiac lines:

Having conquered the tribes of Boeotia and those of Chalcis
Midst the labours of war, sons of Athenians quenched
Insolence high in dark bonds of iron; and taking the ransom's
Tithe set up here these mares, vowed unto Pallas their god.[2]

25. The Persians learned from the Greeks the burning of temples, repaying those who had been the first to offend justice with the same wanton act.[3]

The latest extended discussion of the dedication together with a reconstruction of the chariot, mares, and driver, which were life size, is given by G. P. Stevens, *Hesperia*, 5 (1936), pp. 504 f.

[3] Herodotus (5. 102) says that the Persians gave the burning by Greeks of the temple of Cybelê in Sardis as an excuse for their burning the temples of Greece.

2 Ὅτι Κᾶρες ὑπὸ Περσῶν καταπονούμενοι ἐπηρώτησαν περὶ συμμαχίας εἰ προσλάβοιντο Μιλησίους συμμάχους. ὁ δὲ ἀνεῖλεν,

πάλαι ποτ' ἦσαν ἄλκιμοι Μιλήσιοι.

3 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὁ φόβος ἐγγὺς κείμενος ἐποίησεν αὐτοὺς ἐπιλαθέσθαι τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλοτιμίας, πρὸς δὲ τὸ πληροῦν τὰς τριήρεις κατὰ τάχος συνηνάγκαζεν.

4 Ὅτι Ἑκαταῖος ὁ Μιλήσιος πρεσβευτὴς ἀπεσταλμένος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰώνων, ἠρώτησε δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἀπιστεῖ αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀρταφέρνης. τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος, μήποτε ὑπὲρ ὧν καταπολεμηθέντες κακῶς ἔπαθον μνησικακήσωσιν, Οὐκοῦν, ἔφησεν, εἰ τὸ πεπονθέναι κακῶς τὴν ἀπιστίαν περιποιεῖ, τὸ παθεῖν ἄρα εὖ ποιήσει τὰς πόλεις Πέρσαις εὐνοούσας. ἀποδεξάμενος δὲ τὸ ῥηθὲν ὁ Ἀρταφέρνης ἀπέδωκε τοὺς νόμους ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ τακτοὺς φόρους κατὰ δύναμιν ἐπέταξεν.

26. Ὁ γὰρ τοῖς πολλοῖς παρὰ[1] τῶν πολιτῶν φθόνος τὸν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον ἐγκρυπτόμενος, ἐπειδὴ καιρὸν ἔλαβεν, ἄθρους ἐξερράγη. διὰ δὲ τὴν φιλοτιμίαν τοὺς δούλους ἠλευθέρωσαν, μᾶλλον βουλόμενοι τοῖς οἰκέταις μεταδοῦναι τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἢ τοῖς ἐλευθέροις τῆς πολιτείας.

[1] παρὰ MSS., Boissevain, κατὰ Vogel, παρὰ τοῖς πόλλοις τῶν πολ. Dindorf.

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[1] The reference is to the Ionians as they saw themselves threatened by the Persian fleet. Cp. Herodotus, 6. 7 f.

[2] Herodotus, 5. 36, 125 f. mentions Hecataeus in connec-

When the Carians were becoming exhausted in their struggles with the Persians, they made inquiry respecting an alliance, whether they should take the Milesians to be their allies. And the oracle replied:

Of old Miletus' sons were mighty men.

But the terror which lay close at hand caused them to forget their former rivalry with one another and compelled them to man the triremes with all speed.[1]

Hecataeus, the Milesian, whom the Ionians dispatched as an ambassador,[2] asked what cause Artaphernes had to put no faith in them. And when Artaphernes replied that he was afraid that they would harbour resentment because of the injuries they had received during their defeat,[3] Hecataeus said, "Well then, if suffering ill treatment has the effect of creating bad faith, receiving kind treatment will surely cause our cities to be well disposed toward the Persians" And Artaphernes, approving the statement, restored to the cities their laws and laid upon them fixed tributes according to their ability to pay.

26. The hatred which those who possessed citizenship held for the commons, though it had been concealed up to this time, now burst forth in full force, when it found the occasion. And because of their jealous rivalry they freed the slaves, preferring rather to share freedom with their servants than citizenship with the free.[4]

tion with the Ionian revolt, but not with any embassy like this, which has every appearance of being an invention.

[3] The naval battle of Ladê, in 494 B.C.

[4] This may refer to Argos, where the slaves got control of the city for a time, because so many citizens had been slain in the wars with Sparta (cp. Herodotus, 6. 83).

27. Ὅτι Δᾶτις ὁ τῶν Περσῶν στρατηγός, Μῆδος ὢν τὸ γένος καὶ παρὰ τῶν προγόνων παρειληφὼς ὅτι Μήδου τοῦ συστησαμένου τὴν Μηδίαν Ἀθηναῖοι καθεστήκασιν[1] ἀπόγονοι, ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους δηλῶν[2] ὡς πάρεστι μετὰ δυνάμεως ἀπαιτήσων τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν προγονικήν· Μῆδον γὰρ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ προγόνων πρεσβύτατον[3] γενόμενον ἀφαιρεθῆναι τὴν βασιλείαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ παραγενόμενον εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν κτίσαι τὴν Μηδίαν.
2 ἂν μὲν οὖν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποδῶσιν, ἀφεθήσεσθαι τῆς αἰτίας ταύτης[4] καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ Σάρδεις στρατείας· ἂν δὲ ἐναντιωθῶσι, πολὺ δεινότερα
3 πείσεσθαι τῶν Ἐρετριέων. ὁ δὲ Μιλτιάδης ἀπεκρίθη ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν δέκα στρατηγῶν γνώμης, διότι κατὰ τὸν τῶν πρεσβευτῶν λόγον μᾶλλον προσήκει τῆς Μήδων ἀρχῆς κυριεύειν Ἀθηναίους ἢ Δᾶτιν τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως· τὴν μὲν γὰρ τῶν Μήδων βασιλείαν Ἀθηναῖον ἄνδρα συστήσασθαι, τὰς δὲ Ἀθήνας μηδέποτε Μῆδον τὸ γένος ἄνδρα κατεσχηκέναι. ὁ δὲ πρὸς μάχην ἀκούσας ταῦτα παρεσκευάζετο. (*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 298-301.)

28. Ὅτι Ἱπποκράτης ὁ Γελῷος τύραννος τοὺς Συρακουσίους νενικηκὼς κατεστρατοπέδευσεν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἱερόν. κατέλαβε δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν ἱερέα καὶ τῶν Συρακουσίων τινὰς καθαιροῦντας ἀναθήματα χρυσᾶ, καὶ μάλιστα ἱμάτιον τοῦ Διὸς περι-

[1] So Boissevain, κατέστησαν Mai, Vogel: κα||||||σιν.
[2] δηλῶν Boissevain, εἰπεῖν Mai, Vogel: space of 5 letters.
[3] So Capps for πρεσβύτερον Δᾶτιν which is deleted by all editors.
[4] So Boissevain, τῆς πρώτης αἰτίας Mai, Vogel; αφ|θη||||||||αἰτίας ταύτης. Capps suggests τε after ταύτης.

[1] Of expelling his ancestor.

27. Datis, the general of the Persians and a Mede by descent, having received from his ancestors the tradition that the Athenians were descendants of Medus, who had established the kingdom of Media, sent a message to the Athenians declaring that he was come with an army to demand the return of the sovereignty which had belonged to his ancestors; for Medus, he said, who was the oldest of his own ancestors, had been deprived of the kingship by the Athenians, and removing to Asia had founded the kingdom of Media. Consequently, he went on to say, if they would return the kingdom to him, he would forgive them for this guilty act[1] and for the campaign they had made against Sardis; but if they opposed his demand, they would suffer a worse fate than had the Eretrians.[2] Miltiades, voicing the decision reached by the ten generals, replied that according to the statement of the envoys it was more appropriate for the Athenians to hold the mastery over the empire of the Medes than for Datis to hold it over the state of the Athenians; for it was a man of Athens who had established the kingdom of the Medes, whereas no man of Median race had ever controlled Athens. Datis, on hearing this reply, made ready for battle.

28. Hippocrates, the tyrant of Gela, after his victory over the Syracusans,[3] pitched his camp in the temple area of Zeus. And he seized the person of the priest of the temple and certain Syracusans who were in the act of taking down the golden dedications and removing in particular the robe of the statue of Zeus

[2] Eretria was plundered and burned by the Persians a few days before the battle of Marathon, 490 B.C.
[3] In the battle of Helorus, *c.* 491 B.C.

αιρουμένους ἐκ πολλοῦ κατεσκευασμένον χρυσίου.[1]

2 καὶ τούτοις μὲν ἐπιπλήξας ὡς ἱεροσύλοις ἐκέλευσεν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἀπέσχετο, φιλοδοξῆσαι θέλων καὶ νομίζων δεῖν τὸν τηλικοῦτον ἐπαναιρούμενον πόλεμον μηθὲν ἐξαμαρτάνειν εἰς τὸ θεῖον, ἅμα δὲ νομίζων διαβάλλειν τοὺς προεστῶτας τῶν ἐν Συρακούσαις πραγμάτων πρὸς τὰ πλήθη διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν αὐτοὺς πλεονεκτικῶς, ἀλλ' οὐ δημοτικῶς οὐδ' ἴσως ἄρχειν.

3 Ὅτι Θήρων ὁ Ἀκραγαντῖνος γένει καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος φιλανθρωπίᾳ πολὺ προεῖχεν οὐ μόνον τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ[2] τῶν Σικελιωτῶν.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 227.)

29. Γέλωνα Συρακούσιον καθ' ὕπνους δὲ βοῶντα,
κεραυνοβλὴς γὰρ ἔδοξεν ὀνείροις γεγονέναι,
ὁ κύων θορυβούμενον ἀμέτρως γνοὺς ἐκεῖνον,
καθυλακτῶν οὐκ ἔληξεν ἕως ἐγείρει τοῦτον.
τοῦτον ἐξέσωσέ ποτε καὶ λύκος ἐκ θανάτου.
σχολῇ προσκαθημένου γὰρ ἔτι παιδίου ὄντος
λύκος ἐλθὼν ἀφήρπαξε τὴν δέλτον τὴν ἐκείνου.
τοῦ δὲ δραμόντος πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν λύκον καὶ τὴν δέλτον,
κατασεισθεῖσα ἡ σχολὴ βαθρόθεν καταπίπτει,
καὶ σύμπαντας ἀπέκτεινε παῖδας σὺν διδασκάλῳ.
τῶν παίδων δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν οἱ συγγραφεῖς βοῶσι,
Τίμαιοι, Διονύσιοι, Διόδωροι καὶ Δίων,
πλείω τελοῦντα ἑκατόν. τὸ δ' ἀκριβὲς οὐκ οἶδα. (Tzetzes, *Hist.* 4. 266-278.)

[1] χρυσίου MSS., Büttner-Wobst, χρυσοῦ Dindorf, Vogel.
[2] πάντων added after καὶ by Valesius, Vogel.

in the making of which a large amount of gold had been used. And after sternly rebuking them as despoilers of the temple, he ordered them to return to the city, but he himself did not touch the dedications, since he was intent upon gaining a good name and he thought not only that one who had commenced a war of such magnitude should commit no sin against the deity, but also that he would set the commons at variance with the administrators of the affairs of Syracuse, because men would think the latter were ruling the state to their own advantage and not to that of all the people nor on the principle of equality.

Theron[1] of Acragas in birth and wealth, as well as in the humanity he displayed towards the commons, far surpassed not only his fellow citizens but also the other Sicilian Greeks.

29. Gelon of Syracuse[2] cried out in his sleep, for he was dreaming that he had been struck by lightning, and his dog, when he noticed that he was crying out immoderately, did not stop barking until he awakened him. Gelon was also once saved from death by a wolf. As a boy he was seated in a school and a wolf came and snatched away the tablet he was using. And while he was chasing after the wolf itself and his tablet too, the school was shaken by an earthquake and crashed down from its very foundations, killing every one of the boys together with the teacher. Historians, like Timaeus, Dionysius, Diodorus, and also Dio, celebrate the number of the boys, which amounted to more than one hundred. The precise number I do not know.

[1] Tyrant of Acragas, 488–472 B.C.
[2] Tyrant, but nominally "General," of Syracuse, 485–478 B.C.

30. Ὅτι τοῦ Μιλτιάδου υἱὸς ὁ Κίμων, τελευτήσαντος τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ δημοσίᾳ φυλακῇ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἰσχῦσαι ἐκτῖσαι τὸ ὄφλημα, ἵνα λάβῃ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ πατρὸς εἰς ταφήν, ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν παρέδωκε καὶ διεδέξατο τὸ ὄφλημα.

2 Ὅτι ὁ Κίμων φιλότιμος ὢν εἰς τὴν τῶν κοινῶν διοίκησιν, ἐξ ὑστέρου ἀγαθὸς στρατηγὸς ἐγενήθη, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀρετῆς ἐνδόξους πράξεις κατειργάσατο. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 227-228.)

31. Κίμων υἱὸς κατά τινας ὑπῆρχε Μιλτιάδου,
κατὰ δ' ἑτέρους ἦν πατρὸς τὴν κλῆσιν Στησαγόρου.
ἐξ Ἰσοδίκης τούτῳ παῖς ὑπῆρχεν ὁ Καλλίας.
ὁ Κίμων οὗτος ἀδελφὴν ἰδίαν Ἐλπινίκην
εἶχεν, ὡς Πτολεμαῖος μὲν ὕστερον Βερενίκην,
καὶ Ζεὺς τὴν Ἥραν πρὸ αὐτῶν, καὶ νῦν Περσῶν τὸ γένος.
Καλλίας δὲ πεντήκοντα τάλαντα ζημιοῦται,
ὅπως ὁ Κίμων ὁ πατὴρ μηδὲν δεινόν τι πάθῃ
ἕνεκα γάμων τῶν αἰσχρῶν, τῆς ἀδελφομιξίας.
τὸ δ' ὅσοι ταῦτα γράφουσι μακρόν ἐστί μοι λέγειν·
ἔστι γὰρ πλῆθος ἄπειρον τῶν ταῦτα γεγραφότων,
οἱ κωμικοὶ καὶ ῥήτορες, Διόδωρος, καὶ ἄλλοι.
(Tzetzes, *Hist.* 1. 582-593.)

[1] The distinguished Athenian admiral in the war between the Confederacy of Delos and the Persian Empire, and the leader of the conservative party in Athens until his ostracism in 461 B.C.

[2] Miltiades was fined fifty talents for his unsuccessful attack upon the island of Paros in 489 B.C.

30. Cimon,[1] the son of Miltiades, when his father had died in the state prison because he was unable to pay in full the fine,[2] in order that he might receive his father's body for burial, delivered himself up to prison and assumed the debt.

Cimon, who was ambitious to take part in the conduct of the state, at a later time became an able general and performed glorious deeds by virtue of his personal bravery.

31. Cimon, as certain writers say, was the son of Miltiades, but according to others his father was known as Stesagoras.[3] And he had a son Callias by Isodicê.[4] And this Cimon was married to his own sister Elpinicê [5] as Ptolemy was at a later time to Berenicê,[6] and Zeus to Hera before them, and as the Persians do at the present time. And Callias pays a fine of fifty talents, in order that his father Cimon may not suffer punishment because of his disgraceful marriage, that, namely, of brother with sister. The number of those who write about this it would be a long task for me to recount; for the multitude of those who have written about it is boundless, such as the comic poets and orators and Diodorus and others.

[3] Stesagoras was the brother of Miltiades and so Cimon's uncle.

[4] Granddaughter of the wealthy Megacles.

[5] Elpinicê was the half-sister of Cimon, and Nepos (*Cimon*, 1. 2) states that Athenian law allowed the marriage of brother and sister who had only the same father. But Wilamowitz-Möllendorf (*Hermes*, 12 (1877), p. 339, n. 23) clears Cimon of this scandalous charge. She was clearly a vigorous personality (cp. Plutarch, *Cimon*, 4, 15). The stories about Elpinicê became more scandalous in the course of time (cp. Athenaeus, 13, 589 c).

[6] Three Ptolemies had sisters named Berenicê.

32. Ὅτι Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ τοῦ Νεοκλέους, προσελθόντος τινὸς αὐτῷ πλουσίου καὶ ζητοῦντος κηδεστὴν εὑρεῖν πλούσιον, παρεκελεύσατο αὐτῷ ζητεῖν μὴ χρήματα ἀνδρὸς δεόμενα, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ἄνδρα χρημάτων ἐνδεᾶ. ἀποδεξαμένου δὲ τἀνθρώπου τὸ ῥηθὲν συνεβούλευσεν αὐτῷ συνοικίσαι[1] τὴν θυγατέρα τῷ Κίμωνι. διόπερ ἐκ ταύτης τῆς αἰτίας ὁ Κίμων εὐπορήσας χρημάτων ἀπελύθη τῆς φυλακῆς, καὶ τοὺς κατακλείσαντας ἄρχοντας εὐθύνας καταδίκους ἔλαβεν. (*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 301.)

[Ἡ μὲν οὖν πρὸ ταύτης βίβλος, τῆς ὅλης συντάξεως οὖσα δεκάτη, τὸ τέλος ἔσχε τῶν πράξεων εἰς τὸν προηγούμενον ἐνιαυτὸν τῆς Ξέρξου διαβάσεως εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην καὶ εἰς τὰς γενομένας δημηγορίας ἐν τῇ κοινῇ συνόδῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν Κορίνθῳ περὶ τῆς Γέλωνος συμμαχίας τοῖς Ἕλλησιν.]

(Diodorus, 11. 1. 1.)

33. Ὅτι τῶν Ἑλλήνων πάντων διαπρεσβευσαμένων πρὸς Γέλωνα περὶ συμμαχίας, ὅτε Ξέρξης διέβαινε εἰς[2] τὴν Εὐρώπην, τοῦ δὲ ἐπαγγειλαμένου συμμαχῆσαι καὶ σιταρχῆσαι, εἴ γε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτῷ εἴτε τὴν κατὰ γῆν εἴτε τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν παρέξουσιν, ἡ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας φιλοδοξία τὴν συμμαχίαν παρεκρούετο, τὸ δὲ μέγεθος τῆς βοηθείας καὶ ὁ τῶν πολεμίων φόβος προετρέπετο μεταδοῦναι τῆς δόξης τῷ Γέλωνι.

34. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ τῶν Περσῶν ὑπεροχὴ πρὸς τὸ κρατῆσαι τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἔχει τὰς δωρεάς, ἡ δὲ

[1] So Dindorf: συνοικῆσαι.

[2] εἰς Boissevain, πρὸς Mai, Vogel: διέβαινε||||.

32. Themistocles, the son of Neocles, when a certain wealthy person[1] approached him to find out where he could find a wealthy son-in-law, advised him not to seek for money which lacked a man, but rather a man who was lacking in money. And when the inquirer agreed with this advice, Themistocles counselled him to marry his daughter to Cimon. This was the reason, therefore, for Cimon becoming a wealthy man, and he was released from prison, and calling to account the magistrates who had shut him up he secured their condemnation.

[The preceding Book, which is the tenth of our narrative, closed with the events of the year[2] just before the crossing of Xerxes into Europe and the formal deliberations which the general assembly of the Greeks held in Corinth on the alliance between Gelon and the Greeks.]

33. When all the Greeks, at the time Xerxes was about to cross over into Europe,[3] dispatched an embassy to Gelon to discuss an alliance, and when he answered that he would ally himself with them and supply them with grain, provided that they would grant him the supreme command either on the land or on the sea, the tyrant's ambition for glory in his demanding the supreme command thwarted the alliance; and yet the magnitude of the aid he could supply and the fear of the enemy were impelling them to share the glory with Gelon.[4]

34. For though the supremacy which the Persians enjoy entails, for the satisfaction of cupidity, the

[1] Euryptolemus, son of Megacles.

[2] 481 B.C.

[3] 480 B.C.

[4] See Herodotus, 7. 157 ff. But Gelon himself was in danger from an attack of the Carthaginians upon the Greeks of Sicily.

τυραννικὴ πλεονεξία καὶ τὰ μικρὰ τῶν λημμάτων οὐ παρίησιν.

2 Βεβαιοτάτη γὰρ τῆς σωτηρίας φύλαξ ἡ ἀπιστία.

3 Παῖδες μὲν οὖν ἀδικούμενοι πρὸς πατέρας καταφεύγουσι, πόλεις δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀποικίσαντας δήμους.

4 Ὅτι τυράννου πλεονεξία τοῖς μὲν ὑπάρχουσιν οὐκ ἀρκεῖται, τῶν δὲ ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιθυμεῖ, πληροῦται δὲ οὐδέποτε.

5 Τοὺς δὲ κατὰ τῆς δυναστείας αὐτοῦ πεφυκότας ἔχων καιρὸν οὐκ ἐάσει δύναμιν λαβεῖν.

6 Ἐκείνων γὰρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐστε ἀπόγονοι οἳ τὰς αὑτῶν ἀρετὰς μετὰ τὸν θάνατον ἀθανάτους τῇ δόξῃ καταλελοίπασι.

7 Τὸ γὰρ ἔπαθλον τῆς συμμαχίας οὐκ ἀργύριον αἰτεῖ, οὗ πολλάκις ἰδεῖν ἔστι καταφρονοῦντα καὶ τὸν φαυλότατον ἰδιώτην πεπλουτηκότα, ἀλλ' ἔπαινον καὶ δόξαν, περὶ ἧς οἱ ἀγαθοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ὀκνοῦσιν ἀποθνήσκειν· μισθὸς γάρ ἐστιν ἡ δόξα μείζων ἀργυρίου.

8 Παραλαμβάνουσι γὰρ οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται παρὰ τῶν πατέρων οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ λοιποὶ πλοῦτον, ἀλλὰ προθύμως τελευτᾶν περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, ὥστε πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀγαθὰ δεύτερα τίθεσθαι τῆς δόξης.

9 Μὴ τῶν ξενικῶν δυνάμεων ἐπιθυμοῦντες τὰς πολιτικὰς ἀποβάλλωμεν καὶ τῶν ἀδήλων ὀρεγόμενοι τῶν φανερῶν μὴ κυριεύωμεν.

[1] This and the following excerpts may well be from the speeches of the Greeks as they weighed the choice between fighting the Persians, with possible defeat, and putting themselves under the tyrant Gelon.

gifts they require, yet a tyrant's greed does not overlook even any small gain.[1]

For the surest guardian of safety is mistrust.

Now children, when they are being ill treated, turn for aid to their parents, but states turn to the peoples who once founded them.[2]

A tyrant's greed does not rest satisfied with what he possesses, but it yearns after the property of others and is never sated.

As for those whose character will oppose his domination, he will not, when the opportunity offers, allow them to become powerful.

For you are descendants of those men who have bequeathed to glory their own virtues, deathless after their death.

For as the reward for the alliance it is not money he requires, which one can often see despised by even the lowest man in private life when he has once gained wealth, but praise and glory, to gain which noble men do not hesitate to die; for the reward which glory offers is to be preferred above silver.

For the inheritance which the Spartans receive from their fathers is not wealth, as is the case with all other men, but an eagerness to die for the sake of liberty, so that they set all the good things which life can offer second to glory.

Let us not in our eagerness for mercenary troops throw away our own citizen forces, and, in reaching for what is unseen, lose our mastery of that which is in sight.

[2] That is, the mother-cities of Greece should not seek aid from the colonies they had once founded in Sicily.

10 Οὔ φημι καταπεπλῆχθαι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς τῶν Περσῶν στρατείας[1]· ἀρετῇ γὰρ ὁ πόλεμος, οὐ πλήθει βραβεύεται.

11 Παρειλήφασι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν πατέρων ζῆν μὲν ἑαυτοῖς, τελευτᾶν δ' ὅταν χρεία ταῖς πατρίσιν ἐπῇ.

12 Τί φοβηθῶμεν τὸν χρυσὸν ᾧ κεκοσμημένοι βαδίζουσιν εἰς τὰς μάχας ὡς γυναῖκες εἰς τοὺς γάμους, ὥστε τὴν νίκην μὴ μόνον ἔπαθλον ἔχειν δόξαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλοῦτον; οὐ φοβεῖται γὰρ ἡ ἀρετὴ χρυσόν, ὃν ὁ σίδηρος εἴωθεν ἄγειν αἰχμάλωτον, ἀλλὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν τῶν ἡγουμένων.

13 Πᾶσα γὰρ δύναμις ὑπεραίρουσα τὴν συμμετρίαν ὑφ' ἑαυτῆς βλάπτεται τὰ πλεῖστα. πρὶν ἢ γὰρ ἀκοῦσαι τὴν φάλαγγα, φθάσομεν ἡμεῖς πράξαντες ἃ βουλόμεθα. (*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 301-302.)

[1] So the MSS., Boissevain, στρατιᾶς Dindorf, Vogel.

I deny that I am dismayed at the magnitude of the Persians' armaments; for valour decides the issue of war, not numbers.

For the inheritance they have received from their fathers is to live their own lives, and to die in response to their country's need.

Why should we fear the gold with which they deck themselves out as they go into battle, as women deck themselves for marriage, since as a result victory will bring us the prize not only of glory, but of wealth? For valour fears not gold, which cold steel has ever taken captive, but the military skill of the leaders.

For every army which exceeds the proper proportion carries in itself its undoing in almost every case. For before the serried ranks have heard the command we shall have anticipated them in obtaining our objectives.

INCERTA

[Τὸ τελευταῖον πολλαῖς γενεαῖς ὕστερον ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας τὸ τῶν Σικελῶν ἔθνος πανδημεὶ περαιωθὲν εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν, τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν Σικανῶν ἐκλειφθεῖσαν χώραν κατῴκησαν. ἀεὶ δὲ τῇ πλεονεξίᾳ προβαινόντων τῶν Σικελῶν, καὶ τὴν ὅμορον πορθούντων, ἐγένοντο πόλεμοι πλεονάκις αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοὺς Σικανούς, ἕως συνθήκας ποιησάμενοι συμφώνους ὅρους ἔθεντο τῆς χώρας· περὶ ὧν τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις χρόνοις ἀναγράψομεν.]

(Diodorus, 5. 6. 3-4.)

1. Διόδωρος μέντοι διαφορὰν τούτων οἶδεν ἐν οἷς λέγει, Σικανῶν καὶ Σικελῶν.

(Eustathius, *Commentary on the Odyssey*, Book 20, p. 1896.[1])

2 Διόδωρος δέ που τῶν δεκάτων βιβλίων εἰπὼν περί τε Σικελῶν καὶ Σικανῶν διαφορὰν οἶδεν, ὡς καὶ προερρέθη, Σικελοῦ καὶ Σικανοῦ.

(*Idem*, Book 24, p. 1962.)

2. Διόδωρος δὲ ὁ Σικελὸς καὶ ὁ Ὀππιανὸς ταύτην τὴν Νεάπολιν ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους φασὶ κτισθῆναι.

(Tzetzes, on the *Alexandra* of Lycophron, v. 717.[2])

3. Καὶ τὸ Παλλάδιον δὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τοιοῦτον ἦν, τρίπηχυ, ξύλινον, ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταπεσόν, ὥς φασιν,

[1] Ed. Stallbaum, Leipzig, 1825–1830.

[2] Ed. E. Scheer, Berlin, 1911.

FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN PROVENIENCE

[And last of all, many generations later, the people of the Siceli crossed over in a body from Italy into Sicily and made their home in the land which had been abandoned by the Sicani. And since the Siceli steadily grew more avaricious and kept ravaging the land which bordered on theirs, frequent wars arose between them and the Sicani, until at last they struck covenants and set up boundaries of their territory, upon which they had agreed. With regard to these matters we shall give a detailed account in connection with the appropriate period of time.]

1. Diodorus, however, recognizes a distinction between them, when he speaks of Sicani and Siceli.

Diodorus, when he speaks somewhere in the first ten Books about both Siceli and Sicani, recognizes a distinction, as I have already said, between Sicelus and Sicanus.

2. Diodorus of Sicily and Oppian state that this city of Neapolis was founded by Heracles.

3. And the Palladium[1] of Athena was like this we have mentioned, three cubits tall, made of wood, having fallen from heaven, men say, in Pesinous in

[1] An image of Pallas Athenê.

ἐν Πεσινοῦντι τῆς Φρυγίας, ὅθεν ὁ Διόδωρος κα Δίων τὸν τόπον κληθῆναί φασιν.

(Eudocia, *Violarium*, 322.[1])

4. Καὶ Διόδωρος ἄκραν τινὰ τῶν Ἄλπεων κορυφὴν τοῦ σύμπαντος ὄρους δοκοῦσαν οὐρανοῦ ῥάχιν ἱστορεῖ παρὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων καλεῖσθαι.

(Eustathius, *loc. cit.* Book 1, p. 1390.)

[1] Ed. Flach, 1880.

Phrygia, and Diodorus and Dio say that the region received its name from this event [1]

4. And Diodorus records that a certain peak of the Alps, which has the appearance of being the highest part of the entire range, is called by the natives the "Ridge of Heaven."

[1] Pesinous from the stem *pes* in the verb "to fall."

Manuscripts

A. Codex Coislinianus, 15th century.
F. Codex Laurentianus, 14th century.
H. Codex Vaticanus, 16th century.
J.[1] Codex Parisinus, 16th century.
K. Codex Claromontanus, 16th century.
L. Codex Parisinus, 15th century.
M. Codex Venetus, 15th century.
P. Codex Patmius, 10th or 11th century.

The designations of the MSS. are those of the Preface to the second volume of the edition of Vogel-Fischer. Of these MSS. only A contained any parts of Books 1-5. In the critical notes Vogel uses " v " to designate " vulgate," or the reading of all MSS. except P ; " a " to designate the reading of AHL ; and " f " to designate the reading of FJKM.

[1] Designated " I " by Vogel in error.

BOOK XI

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ ἑνδεκάτῃ τῶν Διοδώρου βίβλων.

Περὶ τῆς Ξέρξου διαβάσεως εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην.

Περὶ τῆς μάχης τῆς ἐν Θερμοπύλαις.

Περὶ τῆς Ξέρξου ναυμαχίας πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

Ὡς Θεμιστοκλέους καταστρατηγήσαντος τὸν Ξέρξην κατεναυμάχησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες τοὺς βαρβάρους περὶ Σαλαμῖνα.

Ὡς Ξέρξης Μαρδόνιον στρατηγὸν ἀπολιπὼν μετὰ μέρους τῆς δυνάμεως ἀπῆρεν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν.

Ὡς Καρχηδόνιοι μεγάλαις δυνάμεσιν ἐστράτευσαν εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν.

Ὡς Γέλων καταστρατηγήσας τοὺς βαρβάρους τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν κατέκοψε, τοὺς δ' ἐζώγρησεν.

Ὡς Γέλων δεηθέντων Καρχηδονίων χρήματα πραξάμενος συνεχώρησεν αὐτοῖς τὴν εἰρήνην.

Κρίσις τῶν ἀριστευσάντων Ἑλλήνων ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ.

Μάχη τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρὸς Μαρδόνιον καὶ Πέρσας περὶ Πλαταιὰς καὶ νίκη τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

Πόλεμος Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς Αἰκολανοὺς καὶ τοὺς τὸ Τοῦσκλον κατοικοῦντας.

CONTENTS OF THE ELEVENTH BOOK OF DIODORUS

On the crossing of Xerxes into Europe (chaps. 1-4).

On the battle of Thermopylae (chaps. 5-11).

On the naval battle which Xerxes fought against the Greeks (chaps. 12-13).

How Themistocles outgeneralled Xerxes and the Greeks conquered the barbarians in the naval battle of Salamis (chaps. 14-18).

How Xerxes, leaving Mardonius behind as commander, withdrew with a portion of his army to Asia (chap. 19).

How the Carthaginians with great armaments made war upon Sicily (chaps. 20-21).

How Gelon, after outgeneralling the barbarians, slew some of them and took others captive (chaps. 22-23).

How Gelon, when the Carthaginians sued for peace, exacted money of them and then concluded the peace (chaps. 24-26).

Judgement passed on the Greeks who distinguished themselves in the war (chap. 27).

The battle of the Greeks against Mardonius and the Persians about Plataea and the victory of the Greeks (chaps. 27-39).

The war which the Romans waged against the Aequi and the inhabitants of Tusculum (chap. 40).

Περὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς τοῦ Πειραιέως ὑπὸ Θεμιστοκλέους.

Περὶ τῆς ἀποσταλείσης βοηθείας Κυμαίοις ὑφ' Ἱέρωνος τοῦ βασιλέως.

Περὶ τοῦ γενομένου πολέμου Ταραντίνοις πρὸς Ἰάπυγας.

Ὡς Θρασυδαῖος ὁ Θήρωνος μὲν υἱός, τύραννος δὲ Ἀκραγαντίνων, ἡττηθεὶς ὑπὸ Συρακουσίων ἀπέβαλε τὴν δυναστείαν.

Ὡς Θεμιστοκλῆς φυγὼν πρὸς Ξέρξην καὶ κατηγορηθεὶς θανάτου ἠλευθερώθη.

Ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις ἠλευθέρωσαν.

Περὶ τοῦ γενομένου σεισμοῦ περὶ τὴν Λακωνικήν.

Περὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως τῶν Μεσσηνίων καὶ τῶν Εἱλώτων ἀπὸ[1] Λακεδαιμονίων.

Ὡς Ἀργεῖοι Μυκήνας κατασκάψαντες ἀοίκητον ἐποίησαν τὴν πόλιν.

Ὡς τὴν ἀπὸ Γέλωνος βασιλείαν κατέλυσαν οἱ Συρακούσιοι.

Ὡς Ξέρξου δολοφονηθέντος Ἀρταξέρξης ἐβασίλευσεν.

Περὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀπὸ Περσῶν.

Περὶ στάσεων τῶν γενομένων ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσαις.

Ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι Αἰγινήτας καὶ Κορινθίους κατεπολέμησαν.

Ὡς Φωκεῖς πρὸς Δωριεῖς ἐπολέμησαν.

On the construction of the Peiraeus by Themistocles (chaps. 41-50).

On the aid which king Hiero dispatched to the Cymaeans (chap. 51).

On the war which arose between the Tarantini and the Iapyges (chap. 52).

How Thrasydaeus, the son of Theron and tyrant of the Acragantini, was defeated by the Syracusans and lost his overlordship (chap. 53).

How Themistocles, who had fled for safety to Xerxes and was put on trial for his life, was set at liberty (chaps. 54-59).

How the Athenians freed the Greek cities throughout Asia (chaps. 60-62).

On the earthquake that occurred in Laconia (chap. 63).

On the revolt of the Messenians and Helots against the Lacedaemonians (chaps. 63-64).

How the Argives razed Mycenae to the ground and made the city desolate (chap. 65).

How the Syracusans overthrew the royal line of Gelon (chaps. 67-68).

How Xerxes was slain by treachery and Artaxerxes became king (chap. 69).

On the revolt of the Egyptians against the Persians (chap. 71).

On the civil discords which took place among the Syracusans (chaps. 72-73).

How the Athenians defeated in war the Aeginetans and Corinthians (chaps. 78-79).

How the Phocians made war on the Dorians (chap. 79).

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[1] ἀπὸ deleted by Vogel.

Ὡς Μυρωνίδης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ὀλίγοις στρατιώταις Βοιωτοὺς πολλαπλασίους ὄντας ἐνίκησεν.

Περὶ τῆς Τολμίδου στρατείας εἰς Κεφαλληνίαν.

Περὶ τοῦ γενομένου πολέμου κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν Ἐγεσταίοις καὶ Λιλυβαίοις.

Περὶ τοῦ νομοθετηθέντος ἐν Συρακούσαις πεταλισμοῦ.

Στρατεία Περικλέους εἰς Πελοπόννησον.

Στρατεία Συρακουσίων εἰς Τυρρηνίαν.

Περὶ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ Παλικῶν ὀνομαζομένων.

Περὶ τῆς Δουκετίου ἥττης καὶ τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν παραδόξου σωτηρίας.

How Myronides the Athenian with a few soldiers defeated the Boeotians who far outnumbered them (chaps. 81-82).

On the campaign of Tolmides against Cephallenia (chap. 84).

On the war in Sicily between the Egestaeans and Lilybaeans (chap. 86).

On the framing of the law of petalism by the Syracusans (chap. 87).

The campaign of Pericles against the Peloponnesus (chap. 88).

The campaign of the Syracusans against Tyrrhenia (chap. 88).

On the Palici, as they are called, in Sicily (chap. 89).

On the defeat of Ducetius and his astounding escape from death (chaps. 91-92).

ΒΙΒΛΟΣ ΕΝΔΕΚΑΤΗ

1. Ἡ μὲν οὖν πρὸ ταύτης βίβλος, τῆς ὅλης συντάξεως οὖσα δεκάτη, τὸ τέλος ἔσχε τῶν πράξεων εἰς τὸν προηγούμενον ἐνιαυτὸν τῆς Ξέρξου διαβάσεως εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην καὶ εἰς τὰς γενομένας δημηγορίας ἐν τῇ κοινῇ συνόδῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν Κορίνθῳ περὶ τῆς Γέλωνος συμμαχίας τοῖς Ἕλλησιν· ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ τὸ συνεχὲς τῆς ἱστορίας ἀναπληροῦντες ἀρξόμεθα μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ξέρξου στρατείας ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καταλήξομεν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν προηγούμενον ἐνιαυτὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίων στρατείας ἐπὶ Κύπρον ἡγουμένου Κίμωνος.

2 Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος γὰρ Ἀθήνησι Καλλιάδου Ῥωμαῖοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Σπόριον Κάσσιον καὶ Πρόκλον Οὐεργίνιον Τρίκοστον, ἤχθη δὲ καὶ παρ' Ἠλείοις Ὀλυμπιὰς πέμπτη πρὸς ταῖς ἑβδομήκοντα, καθ' ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Ἀστύλος Συρακόσιος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ξέρξης ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα
3 διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν. Μαρδόνιος ὁ Πέρσης ἀνεψιὸς μὲν καὶ κηδεστὴς ἦν Ξέρξου, διὰ δὲ σύνεσιν καὶ ἀνδρείαν μάλιστα θαυμαζόμενος παρὰ τοῖς Πέρσαις. οὗτος μετέωρος ὢν τῷ φρονήματι καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀκμάζων, ἐπεθύμει μεγάλων δυνάμεων ἀφηγήσασθαι· διόπερ ἔπεισε τὸν Ξέρξην καταδουλώσασθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἀεὶ πολεμικῶς ἔχοντας πρὸς

BOOK XI

1. The preceding Book, which is the tenth of our narrative, closed with the events of the year just before the crossing of Xerxes into Europe and the formal deliberations which the general assembly of the Greeks held in Corinth on the alliance between Gelon and the Greeks; and in this Book we shall supply the further course of the history, beginning with the campaign of Xerxes against the Greeks, and we shall stop with the year which precedes the campaign of the Athenians against Cyprus under the leadership of Cimon.[1]

Calliades was archon in Athens, and the Romans 480 B.C.
made Spurius Cassius and Proculus Verginius Tricostus consuls, and the Eleians celebrated the Seventy-fifth Olympiad, that in which Astylus of Syracuse won the "stadion." It was in this year that king Xerxes made his campaign against Greece, for the following reason. Mardonius the Persian was a cousin of Xerxes and related to him by marriage, and he was also greatly admired by the Persians because of his sagacity and courage. This man, being elated by pride and at the height of his physical vigour, was eager to be the leader of great armaments; consequently he persuaded Xerxes to enslave the Greeks, who had ever been enemies of the

[1] That is, the Book covers the years 480–451 B.C.

4 τοὺς Πέρσας. ὁ δὲ Ξέρξης πεισθεὶς αὐτῷ καὶ βουλόμενος πάντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀναστάτους ποιῆσαι, διεπρεσβεύσατο πρὸς Καρχηδονίους περὶ κοινοπραγίας καὶ συνέθετο πρὸς αὐτούς, ὥστε αὐτὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κατοικοῦντας Ἕλληνας στρατεύειν, Καρχηδονίους δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρόνοις μεγάλας παρασκευάσασθαι δυνάμεις καὶ καταπολεμῆσαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς περὶ Σικελίαν
5 καὶ Ἰταλίαν οἰκοῦντας. ἀκολούθως οὖν ταῖς συνθήκαις Καρχηδόνιοι μὲν χρημάτων πλῆθος ἀθροίσαντες μισθοφόρους συνῆγον ἔκ τε τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ Λιγυστικῆς, ἔτι δὲ Γαλατίας καὶ Ἰβηρίας, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης ἁπάσης καὶ τῆς Καρχηδόνος κατέγραφον πολιτικὰς δυνάμεις· τέλος δὲ τριετῆ χρόνον περὶ τὰς παρασκευὰς ἀσχοληθέντες ἤθροισαν πεζῶν[1] μὲν ὑπὲρ τὰς τριάκοντα μυριάδας, ναῦς δὲ διακοσίας.

2. Ὁ δὲ Ξέρξης ἁμιλλώμενος πρὸς τὴν τῶν Καρχηδονίων σπουδήν, ὑπερεβάλετο πάσαις ταῖς παρασκευαῖς τοσοῦτον ὅσον καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἐθνῶν ὑπερεῖχε Καρχηδονίων. ἤρξατο δὲ ναυπηγεῖσθαι κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν παραθαλάττιον τὴν ὑπ' αὐτὸν ταττομένην, Αἴγυπτόν τε καὶ Φοινίκην καὶ Κύπρον, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Κιλικίαν καὶ Παμφυλίαν καὶ Πισιδικήν, ἔτι δὲ Λυκίαν καὶ Καρίαν καὶ Μυσίαν καὶ Τρῳάδα καὶ τὰς ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντῳ πόλεις καὶ τὴν Βιθυνίαν καὶ τὸν Πόντον. ὁμοίως δὲ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις τριετῆ χρόνον παρασκευασάμενος κατεσκεύασε ναῦς μακρὰς πλείους τῶν χι-
2 λίων καὶ διακοσίων. συνεβάλετο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ Δαρεῖος, πρὸ τῆς τελευτῆς παρασκευὰς πεποιημένος μεγάλων δυνάμεων· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος

[1] πεζῶν added by Dindorf.

Persians. And Xerxes, being won over by him and desiring to drive all the Greeks from their homes, sent an embassy to the Carthaginians to urge them to join him in the undertaking and closed an agreement with them, to the effect that he would wage war upon the Greeks who lived in Greece, while the Carthaginians should at the same time gather great armaments and subdue those Greeks who lived in Sicily and Italy. In accordance, then, with their agreements, the Carthaginians, collecting a great amount of money, gathered mercenaries from both Italy and Liguria and also from Galatia and Iberia[1]; and in addition to these troops they enrolled men of their own race from the whole of Libya and of Carthage; and in the end, after spending three years in constant preparation, they assembled more than three hundred thousand foot-soldiers and two hundred war vessels.

2. Xerxes, vying with the zeal displayed by the Carthaginians, surpassed them in all his preparations to the degree that he excelled the Carthaginians in the multitude of peoples at his command. And he began to have ships built throughout all the territory along the sea that was subject to him, both Egypt and Phoenicia and Cyprus, Cilicia and Pamphylia and Pisidia, and also Lycia, Caria, Mysia, the Troad, and the cities on the Hellespont, and Bithynia, and Pontus. Spending a period of three years, as did the Carthaginians, on his preparations, he made ready more than twelve hundred warships. He was aided in this by his father Darius, who before his death had made preparations of great armaments; for

[1] Gaul and Spain.

ἡττημένος ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐν Μαραθῶνι Δάτιδος ἡγουμένου, χαλεπῶς διέκειτο πρὸς τοὺς νενικηκότας Ἀθηναίους. ἀλλὰ Δαρεῖος μὲν μέλλων ἤδη διαβαίνειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐμεσολαβήθη τελευτήσας, ὁ δὲ Ξέρξης διά τε τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιβολὴν καὶ τὴν τοῦ Μαρδονίου συμβουλίαν, καθότι προείρηται, διέγνω πολεμεῖν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν.

3 Ὡς δ' αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν ἡτοίμαστο, τοῖς μὲν ναυάρχοις παρήγγειλεν ἀθροίζειν τὰς ναῦς εἰς Κύμην καὶ Φώκαιαν, αὐτὸς δ' ἐξ ἁπασῶν τῶν σατραπειῶν συναγαγὼν τὰς πεζὰς καὶ ἱππικὰς δυνάμεις, προῆγεν ἐκ τῶν Σούσων. ὡς δ' ἧκεν εἰς Σάρδεις, κήρυκας ἐξέπεμψεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, προστάξας εἰς πάσας τὰς πόλεις ἰέναι
4 καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας αἰτεῖν ὕδωρ καὶ γῆν. τὴν δὲ στρατιὰν διελόμενος ἐξαπέστειλε τοὺς ἱκανοὺς ζεῦξαι μὲν τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, διασκάψαι δὲ τὸν Ἄθω κατὰ τὸν αὐχένα τῆς Χερρονήσου, ἅμα μὲν ταῖς δυνάμεσιν ἀσφαλῆ καὶ σύντομον τὴν διέξοδον ποιούμενος, ἅμα δὲ τῷ μεγέθει τῶν ἔργων ἐλπίζων προκαταπλήξεσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας. οἱ μὲν οὖν πεμφθέντες ἐπὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν τῶν ἔργων ταχέως
5 ἤνυον διὰ τὴν πολυχειρίαν τῶν ἐργαζομένων. οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες πυθόμενοι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς τῶν Περσῶν δυνάμεως, ἐξέπεμψαν εἰς Θετταλίαν μυρίους ὁπλίτας τοὺς καταληψομένους τὰς περὶ[1] τὰ Τέμπη παρόδους· ἡγεῖτο δὲ τῶν μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων Συνετός, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων Θεμιστοκλῆς. οὗτοι δὲ

[1] περὶ Hertlein : ἐπὶ.

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[1] *i.e.* from Asia into Europe via the Northern Aegean.

Darius, after Datis, his general, had been defeated by the Athenians at Marathon, had continued to be angry with the Athenians for having won that battle. But Darius, when already about to cross over[1] against the Greeks, was stopped in his plans by death, whereupon Xerxes, induced both by the design of his father and by the counsel of Mardonius, as we have stated, made up his mind to wage war upon the Greeks.

Now when all preparations for the campaign had been completed, Xerxes commanded his admirals to assemble the ships at Cymê and Phocaea, and he himself collected the foot and cavalry forces from all the satrapies and advanced from Susa. And when he had arrived at Sardis, he dispatched heralds to Greece, commanding them to go to all the states and to demand of the Greeks water and earth.[2] Then, dividing his army, he sent in advance a sufficient number of men both to bridge the Hellespont and to dig a canal through Athos[3] at the neck of the Cherronesus, in this way not only making the passage safe and short for his forces but also hoping by the magnitude of his exploits to strike the Greeks with terror before his arrival. Now the men who had been sent to make ready these works completed them with dispatch, because so many labourers co-operated in the task. And the Greeks, when they learned of the great size of the Persian armaments, dispatched ten thousand hoplites into Thessaly to seize the passes of Tempê; Synetus[4] commanded the Lacedaemonians and Themistocles the Athenians. These

[2] The submission of water and earth was a token of fealty or non-resistance.

[3] A Persian fleet had been wrecked off the promontory of Mt. Athos in 492 B.C.

[4] Herodotus (7. 173) gives the name as Euaenetus.

πρὸς τὰς πόλεις πρεσβευτὰς ἀποστείλαντες ἠξίουν
ἀποστέλλειν στρατιώτας τοὺς κοινῇ φυλάξοντας
τὰς παρόδους· ἔσπευδον γὰρ ἁπάσας τὰς Ἑλληνί-
δας πόλεις διαλαβεῖν ταῖς προφυλακαῖς καὶ κοινο-
6 ποιήσασθαι τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας πόλεμον. ἐπεὶ
δὲ τῶν Θετταλῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τῶν
πλησιοχώρων ταῖς παρόδοις ἔδωκαν οἱ πλείους
ὕδωρ τε καὶ γῆν τοῖς ἀφιγμένοις ἀγγέλοις ἀπὸ
Ξέρξου, ἀπογνόντες τὴν περὶ τὰ Τέμπη φυλακὴν
ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν.

3. Χρήσιμον δὲ διορίσαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς τὰ
τῶν βαρβάρων ἑλομένους, ἵνα τυγχάνοντες ὀνείδους
ἀποτρέπωσι ταῖς βλασφημίαις τοὺς προδότας ἂν[1]
2 γενομένους τῆς κοινῆς ἐλευθερίας. Αἰνιᾶνες μὲν
οὖν καὶ Δόλοπες καὶ Μηλιεῖς καὶ Περραιβοὶ καὶ
Μάγνητες μετὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐτάχθησαν, ἔτι
παρούσης τῆς ἐν τοῖς Τέμπεσι φυλακῆς, Ἀχαιοὶ
δὲ Φθιῶται καὶ Λοκροὶ καὶ Θετταλοὶ καὶ Βοιωτοὶ
οἱ πλείους τούτων ἀπελθόντων ἀπέκλιναν πρὸς τοὺς
3 βαρβάρους. οἱ δ᾽ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ συνεδρεύοντες τῶν
Ἑλλήνων ἐψηφίσαντο τοὺς μὲν ἐθελοντὶ τῶν Ἑλ-
λήνων ἑλομένους τὰ Περσῶν δεκατεῦσαι τοῖς θεοῖς,
ἐπὰν τῷ πολέμῳ κρατήσωσι, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς τὴν
ἡσυχίαν ἔχοντας ἐκπέμψαι πρέσβεις τοὺς παρα-
καλέσοντας συναγωνίζεσθαι περὶ τῆς κοινῆς ἐλευ-
4 θερίας. ὧν οἱ μὲν εἵλοντο γνησίως τὴν συμμαχίαν,
οἱ δὲ παρῆγον ἐφ᾽ ἱκανὸν χρόνον, ἀντεχόμενοι τῆς
ἰδίας μόνον ἀσφαλείας καὶ καραδοκοῦντες τὸ τοῦ

[1] ἂν added by Reiske, who also suggests γενησομένους alone, which Vogel adopts.

[1] The inhabitants of Malis (also called Melis) in S. Thessaly not of the island Melos in the southern Aegean.

commanders dispatched ambassadors to the states and asked them to send soldiers to join in the common defence of the passes; for they eagerly desired that all the Greek states should each have a share in the defence and make common cause in the war against the Persians. But since the larger number of the Thessalians and other Greeks who dwelt near the passes had given the water and earth to the envoys of Xerxes when they arrived, the two generals despaired of the defence at Tempê and returned to their own soil.

3. And now it will be useful to distinguish those Greeks who chose the side of the barbarians, in order that, incurring our censure here, their example may, by the obloquy visited upon them, deter for the future any who may become traitors to the common freedom. The Aenianians, Dolopians, Melians,[1] Perrhaebians, and Magnetans took the side of the barbarians even while the defending force was still at Tempê, and after its departure the Achaeans of Phthia, Locrians, Thessalians, and the majority of the Boeotians went over to the barbarians. But the Greeks who were meeting in congress at the Isthmus[2] voted to make the Greeks who voluntarily chose the cause of the Persians pay a tithe to the gods, when they should be successful in the war, and to send ambassadors to those Greeks who were neutral to urge them to join in the struggle for the common freedom. Of the latter, some joined the alliance without reservation, while others postponed any decision for a considerable time, clinging to their own safety alone and anxiously waiting for the out-

[2] At Corinth.

πολέμου τέλος· Ἀργεῖοι δὲ πρέσβεις ἀποστείλαντες εἰς τὸ κοινὸν συνέδριον ἐπηγγέλλοντο συμμαχήσειν, ἐὰν αὐτοῖς μέρος τι τῆς ἡγεμονίας συγχωρήσωσιν.
5 οἷς οἱ σύνεδροι διεσάφησαν, εἰ μὲν δεινότερον ἡγοῦνται τὸ στρατηγὸν ἔχειν Ἕλληνα ἢ δεσπότην βάρβαρον, ὀρθῶς αὐτοὺς ἔχειν ἡσυχίαν, εἰ δὲ φιλοτιμοῦνται λαβεῖν τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίαν, ἄξια ταύτης δεῖν ἔφασαν αὐτοὺς πεπραχότας ἐπιζητεῖν τὴν τηλικαύτην δόξαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν παρὰ Ξέρξου πρέσβεων ἐπιόντων τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ αἰτούντων, αἱ πόλεις ἅπασαι διὰ τῶν ἀποκρίσεων ἀπεδείκνυντο τὴν περὶ τῆς κοινῆς ἐλευθερίας σπουδήν.

6 Ξέρξης δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐζεῦχθαι καὶ τὸν Ἄθω διεσκάφθαι, προῆγεν ἐκ τῶν Σάρδεων ἐφ᾿ Ἑλλησπόντου τὴν πορείαν ποιούμενος· ὡς δὲ ἧκεν εἰς Ἄβυδον, διὰ τοῦ ζεύγματος τὴν δύναμιν διήγαγεν εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην. πορευόμενος δὲ διὰ τῆς Θρᾴκης πολλοὺς προσελαμβάνετο στρατιώτας καὶ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν καὶ τῶν ὁμόρων τού-
7 τοις Ἑλλήνων. ὡς δ᾿ ἧκεν εἰς τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον Δορίσκον, ἐνταῦθα μετεπέμψατο τὸ ναυτικόν, ὥστε ἀμφοτέρας τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς ἕνα τόπον ἀθροισθῆναι. ἐποιήσατο δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐξετασμὸν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἁπάσης· ἠριθμήθησαν δὲ τῆς πεζῆς δυνάμεως μυριάδες πλείους τῶν ὀγδοήκοντα, νῆες δὲ αἱ σύμπασαι μακραὶ πλείους τῶν χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων, καὶ τούτων Ἑλληνίδες τριακόσιαι καὶ εἴκοσι, τὰ

come of the war; the Argives, however, sending ambassadors to the common congress, promised to join the alliance if the congress would give them a share in the command. To them the representatives declared plainly that, if they thought it a more terrible thing to have a Greek as general than a barbarian as master, they would do well to remain neutral, but if they were ambitious to secure the leadership of the Greeks, they should, it was stated, first have accomplished deeds deserving of this leadership and then strive for such an honour. After these events, when the ambassadors sent by Xerxes came to Greece and demanded both earth and water, all[1] the states manifested in their replies the zeal they felt for the common freedom.

When Xerxes learned that the Hellespont had been bridged and the canal[2] had been dug through Athos, he left Sardis and made his way toward the Hellespont; and when he had arrived at Abydus, he led his army over the bridge into Europe. And as he advanced through Thrace, he added to his forces many soldiers from both the Thracians and neighbouring Greeks. When he arrived at the city called Doriscus, he ordered his fleet to come there, and so both arms of his forces were gathered into one place. And he held there also the enumeration of the entire army, and the number of his land forces was over eight hundred thousand men, while the sum total of his ships of war exceeded twelve hundred, of which three hundred and twenty were Greek, the Greeks

[1] That is, all the states which had joined the alliance.

[2] The use of this canal "is problematic; and its existence has been questioned in ancient as well as modern times, but is guaranteed by Thucydides and by vestiges still visible" (Munro in *Camb. Anc. Hist.* 4, p. 269).

μὲν πληρώματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν παρεχομένων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τὰ δὲ σκάφη τοῦ βασιλέως χορηγοῦντος· αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ πᾶσαι βαρβαρικαὶ κατηριθμοῦντο· καὶ τούτων Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν διακοσίας παρέσχοντο, Φοίνικες δὲ τριακοσίας, Κίλικες δὲ ὀγοδοήκοντα. Πάμφυλοι δὲ τετταράκοντα, καὶ Λύκιοι τὰς ἴσας, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Κᾶρες μὲν ὀγδοήκοντα, Κύπριοι
8 δὲ ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα. τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων ἔπεμψαν Δωριεῖς μὲν οἱ πρὸς τῇ Καρίᾳ κατοικοῦντες μετὰ Ῥοδίων καὶ Κῴων τετταράκοντα, Ἴωνες δὲ μετὰ Χίων καὶ Σαμίων ἑκατόν, Αἰολεῖς δὲ μετὰ Λεσβίων καὶ Τενεδίων τετταράκοντα, Ἑλλησπόντιοι δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα σὺν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πόντον κατοικοῦσι, νησιῶται δὲ πεντήκοντα· τὰς γὰρ νήσους τὰς ἐντὸς Κυανέων καὶ Τριοπίου καὶ Σουνίου
9 προσηγμένος ἦν ὁ βασιλεύς. τριήρεις μὲν οὖν τοσαῦται τὸ πλῆθος ὑπῆρχον, ἱππαγωγοὶ δὲ ὀκτακόσιαι πεντήκοντα, αἱ δὲ τριηκόντοροι τρισχίλιαι. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ξέρξης περὶ τὸν ἐξετασμὸν τῶν δυνάμεων διέτριβε περὶ τὸν Δορίσκον.

4. Τοῖς δὲ συνέδροις τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐπειδὴ πλησίον εἶναι προσαπηγγέλθησαν αἱ τῶν Περσῶν δυνάμεις, ἔδοξε ταχέως ἀποστέλλειν τὴν μὲν ναυτικὴν δύναμιν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον τῆς Εὐβοίας, εὔθετον ὁρῶσι τὸν τόπον τοῦτον πρὸς τὴν ἀπάντησιν τῶν πολεμίων, εἰς δὲ τὰς Θερμοπύλας τοὺς ἱκανοὺς ὁπλίτας, προκαταληψομένους τὰς ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς παρόδους καὶ κωλύσοντας προάγειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοὺς βαρβάρους· ἔσπευδον γὰρ τοὺς τὰ τῶν

providing the complement of men and the king supplying the vessels. All the remaining ships were listed as barbarian; and of these the Egyptians supplied two hundred, the Phoenicians three hundred, the Cilicians eighty, the Pamphylians forty, the Lycians the same number, also the Carians eighty, and the Cyprians one hundred and fifty. Of the Greeks the Dorians who dwelt off Caria, together with the Rhodians and Coans, sent forty ships, the Ionians, together with the Chians and Samians, one hundred, the Aeolians, together with the Lesbians and Tenedans, forty, the peoples of the region of the Hellespont, together with those who dwelt along the shores of the Pontus, eighty, and the inhabitants of the islands fifty; for the king had won over to his side the islands lying within the Cyanean Rocks[1] and Triopium and Sunium. Triremes made up the multitude we have listed, and the transports for the cavalry numbered eight hundred and fifty, and the triaconters three thousand. Xerxes, then, was busied with the enumeration of the armaments at Doriscus.

4. The Greeks who were in assembly, when word came to them that the Persian forces were near, took action to dispatch the ships of war with all speed to Artemisium in Euboea, recognizing that this place was well situated for meeting the enemy, and a considerable body of hoplites to Thermopylae to forestall them in occupying the passes at the narrowest part of the defile and to prevent the barbarians from advancing against Greece; for they were eager to throw their protection inside of Thermopylae about

[1] At the entrance to the Black Sea; Triopium and Sunium are the promontories of Caria and Attica respectively.

Ἑλλήνων προελομένους ἐντὸς περιλαβεῖν καὶ σώ-
2 ζειν εἰς τὸ δυνατὸν τοὺς συμμάχους. ἡγεῖτο δὲ τοῦ
μὲν στόλου παντὸς Εὐρυβιάδης ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος,
τῶν δὲ εἰς Θερμοπύλας ἐκπεμφθέντων Λεωνίδης
ὁ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν βασιλεύς, μέγα φρονῶν ἐπ'
ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ στρατηγίᾳ. οὗτος δὲ λαβὼν τὴν ἐξου-
σίαν ἐπήγγειλε χιλίους[1] μόνον ἐπὶ τὴν στρατείαν
3 ἀκολουθεῖν αὐτῷ. τῶν δὲ ἐφόρων λεγόντων ὡς
ὀλίγους παντελῶς ἄγει πρὸς μεγάλην δύναμιν, καὶ
προσταττόντων πλείονας παραλαμβάνειν, εἶπε πρὸς
αὐτοὺς ἐν ἀπορρήτοις ὅτι πρὸς μὲν τὸ κωλῦσαι
τοὺς βαρβάρους διελθεῖν τὰς παρόδους ὀλίγοι, πρὸς
μέντοι γε τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐφ' ἣν πορεύονται νῦν πολλοί.
4 αἰνιγματώδους δὲ καὶ ἀσαφοῦς τῆς ἀποκρίσεως
γενομένης, ἐπηρώτησαν αὐτὸν εἰ πρὸς εὐτελῆ τινα
πρᾶξιν αὐτοὺς ἄγειν διανοεῖται. ἀπεκρίθη δὲ ὅτι
τῷ λόγῳ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν φυλακὴν ἄγει τῶν παρόδων,
τῷ δ' ἔργῳ περὶ τῆς κοινῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀποθα-
νουμένους· ὥστε ἐὰν μὲν οἱ χίλιοι πορευθῶσιν,
ἐπιφανεστέραν ἔσεσθαι τὴν Σπάρτην τούτων τετε-
λευτηκότων,[2] ἐὰν δὲ πανδημεὶ στρατεύσωσι Λακε-
δαιμόνιοι, παντελῶς ἀπολεῖσθαι τὴν Λακεδαίμονα·
οὐδένα γὰρ αὐτῶν τολμήσειν φεύγειν, ἵνα τύχῃ
5 σωτηρίας. τῶν μὲν οὖν Λακεδαιμονίων ἦσαν
χίλιοι, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Σπαρτιᾶται τριακόσιοι, τῶν
δ' ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἅμ' αὐτοῖς συνεκπεμφθέν-
των ἐπὶ τὰς Θερμοπύλας τρισχίλιοι.
6 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Λεωνίδης μετὰ τετρακισχιλίων προ-
ῆγεν ἐπὶ τὰς Θερμοπύλας, Λοκροὶ δὲ οἱ πλησίον

[1] *χιλίους* Kallenberg: *χιλίοις*.
[2] *τετελευτηκότων Const. Exc.*: *τελευτησάντων*.

those who had chosen the cause of the Greeks and to do everything in their power to save the allies. The leader of the entire expedition was Eurybiades the Lacedaemonian, and of the troops sent to Thermopylae the commander was Leonidas the king of the Spartans, a man who set great store by his courage and generalship. Leonidas, when he received the appointment, announced that only one thousand men should follow him on the campaign. And when the ephors said that he was leading altogether too few soldiers against a great force and ordered him to take along a larger number, he replied to them in secret, "For preventing the barbarians from getting through the passes they are few, but for the task to which they are now bound they are many." Since this reply proved riddle-like and obscure, he was asked again whether he believed he was leading the soldiers to some paltry task. Whereupon he replied, "Ostensibly I am leading them to the defence of the passes, but in fact to die for the freedom of all; and so, if a thousand set forth, Sparta will be the more renowned when they have died, but if the whole body of the Lacedaemonians take the field, Lacedaemon will be utterly destroyed, for not a man of them, in order to save his life, will dare to turn in flight." There were, then, of the Lacedaemonians one thousand, and with them three hundred Spartiates,[1] while the rest of the Greeks who were dispatched with them to Thermopylae were three thousand.

Leonidas, then, with four thousand soldiers advanced to Thermopylae. The Locrians, however, who dwelt in the neighbourhood of the passes had

[1] Full citizens of the state of Sparta proper.

τῶν παρόδων κατοικοῦντες ἐδεδώκεσαν μὲν γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ τοῖς Πέρσαις, κατεπηγγελμένοι δ' ἦσαν προκαταλήψεσθαι τὰς παρόδους· ὡς δ' ἐπύθοντο τὸν Λεωνίδην ἥκειν εἰς Θερμοπύλας, μετενόησαν
7 καὶ μετέθεντο πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. ἧκον δὲ εἰς τὰς Θερμοπύλας καὶ Λοκροὶ χίλιοι καὶ Μηλιέων τοσοῦτοι καὶ Φωκέων οὐ πολὺ λειπόμενοι τῶν χιλίων, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Θηβαίων ἀπὸ τῆς ἑτέρας μερίδος ὡς τετρακόσιοι· διεφέροντο γὰρ οἱ τὰς Θήβας κατοικοῦντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας συμμαχίας. οἱ μὲν οὖν μετὰ Λεωνίδου συνταχθέντες[1] Ἕλληνες τοσοῦτοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες διέτριβον περὶ τὰς Θερμοπύλας, ἀναμένοντες τὴν τῶν Περσῶν παρουσίαν.

5. Ξέρξης δὲ μετὰ τὸν ἐξετασμὸν τῶν δυνάμεων προῆγε μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος, καὶ μέχρι μὲν Ἀκάνθου πόλεως τῇ πεζῇ στρατιᾷ πορευομένῳ συμπαρέπλει πᾶς ὁ στόλος, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ κατὰ τὸν διορυχθέντα τόπον διεκομίσθησαν εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν
2 θάλατταν συντόμως καὶ ἀσφαλῶς. ὡς δ' ἧκεν ἐπὶ τὸν Μηλιακὸν κόλπον, ἐπύθετο τοὺς πολεμίους προκατειληφέναι τὰς παρόδους. διόπερ ἐνταῦθα προσαναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν μετεπέμψατο τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης συμμάχους, οὐ πολὺ λείποντας τῶν εἴκοσι μυριάδων, ὥστ' ἔχειν αὐτὸν τοὺς σύμπαντας οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν ἑκατὸν μυριάδων χωρὶς τῆς
3 ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως. ὁ δὲ σύμπας ὄχλος τῶν τε ἐν ταῖς μακραῖς ναυσὶν ὄντων καὶ τῶν τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παρασκευὴν κομιζόντων οὐκ ἐλάττων ἦν

[1] So Wesseling: *συναχθέντες*.

[1] See note 1 on p. 126.

[2] Diodorus, in his eagerness to recount the safe passage

already given earth and water to the Persians, and had promised that they would seize the passes in advance; but when they learned that Leonidas had arrived at Thermopylae, they changed their minds and went over to the Greeks. And there gathered at Thermopylae also a thousand Locrians, an equal number of Melians,[1] and almost a thousand Phocians, as well as some four hundred Thebans of the other party; for the inhabitants of Thebes were divided against each other with respect to the alliance with the Persians. Now the Greeks who were drawn up with Leonidas for battle, being as many in number as we have set forth, tarried in Thermopylae, awaiting the arrival of the Persians.

5. Xerxes, after having enumerated his armaments, pushed on with the entire army, and the whole fleet accompanied the land forces in their advance as far as the city of Acanthus, and from there the ships passed through the place where the canal had been dug into the other sea expeditiously and without loss. But when Xerxes arrived at the Gulf of Melis,[2] he learned that the enemy had already seized the passes. Consequently, having joined to his forces the armament there, he summoned his allies from Europe, a little less than two hundred thousand men; so that he now possessed in all not less than one million soldiers exclusive of the naval contingent.[3] And the sum total of the masses who served on the ships of war and who transported the food and general

of the fleet through the canal, has anticipated. He now returns to the march from the European side of the Hellespont.

[3] The size of Xerxes' army has been often discussed. Munro (*Camb. Anc. Hist.* 4, pp. 271 ff.) concludes that Xerxes had one hundred and eighty thousand combatants and a fleet of some seven hundred and thirty warships.

τῶν προειρημένων, ὥστε μηδὲν θαυμαστὸν εἶναι τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὲρ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ὑπὸ Ξέρξου συναχθέντων· φασὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἀενάους ποταμοὺς διὰ τὴν τοῦ πλήθους συνέχειαν ἐπιλιπεῖν, τὰ δὲ πελάγη τοῖς τῶν νεῶν ἱστίοις κατακαλυφθῆναι. μέγισται μὲν οὖν δυνάμεις τῶν εἰς ἱστορικὴν μνήμην παραδεδομένων αἱ μετὰ Ξέρξου γενόμεναι παραδέδονται.

4 Τῶν δὲ Περσῶν κατεστρατοπεδευκότων παρὰ τὸν Σπερχειὸν ποταμόν, ὁ μὲν Ξέρξης ἀπέστειλεν ἀγγέλους εἰς τὰς Θερμοπύλας, τοὺς ἅμα μὲν κατασκεψομένους[1] τίνα διάνοιαν ἔχουσι περὶ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν πολέμου· προσέταξε δ' αὐτοῖς παραγγέλλειν, ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης κελεύει τὰ μὲν ὅπλα πάντας ἀποθέσθαι, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἀκινδύνους εἰς τὰς πατρίδας ἀπιέναι καὶ συμμάχους εἶναι Περσῶν· καὶ ταῦτα πράξασιν αὐτοῖς ἐπηγγείλατο δώσειν χώραν τοῖς Ἕλλησι πλείω καὶ βελτίω τῆς νῦν ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατ-
5 εχομένης. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Λεωνίδην ἀκούσαντες τῶν ἀγγέλων ἀπεκρίναντο, ὅτι καὶ συμμαχοῦντες τῷ βασιλεῖ χρησιμώτεροι μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἔσονται καὶ πολεμεῖν ἀναγκαζόμενοι μετὰ τούτων γενναιότερον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνιοῦνται· περὶ δὲ τῆς χώρας ἣν ὑπισχνεῖται δώσειν, ὅτι πάτριόν ἐστι τοῖς Ἕλλησι μὴ διὰ κακίαν, ἀλλὰ δι' ἀρετὴν κτᾶσθαι χώραν.

6. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀκούσας παρὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀποκρίσεις προσεκαλέσατο Δημάρατον Σπαρτιάτην, ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος πεφευγότα πρὸς αὐτόν, καταγελάσας δὲ τῶν ἀποκρίσεων ἐπηρώτησε τὸν Λάκωνα, Πότερον οἱ Ἕλληνες ὀξύτερον τῶν ἐμῶν ἵππων φεύξονται ἢ πρὸς

equipment was not less than that of those we have mentioned, so that the account usually given of the multitude of the men gathered together by Xerxes need cause no amazement; for men say that the unfailing rivers ran dry because of the unending stream of the multitude, and that the seas were hidden by the sails of the ships. However this may be, the greatest forces of which any historical record has been left were those which accompanied Xerxes.

After the Persians had encamped on the Spercheius River, Xerxes dispatched envoys to Thermopylae to discover, among other things, how the Greeks felt about the war with him; and he commanded them to make this proclamation: "King Xerxes orders all to give up their arms, to depart unharmed to their native lands, and to be allies of the Persians; and to all Greeks who do this he will give more and better lands than they now possess." But when Leonidas heard the commands of the envoys, he replied to them: "If we should be allies of the king we should be more useful if we kept our arms, and if we should have to wage war against him, we should fight the better for our freedom if we kept them; and as for the lands which he promises to give, the Greeks have learned from their fathers to gain lands, not by cowardice, but by valour."

6. The king, on hearing from his envoys the replies of the Greeks, sent for Demaratus, a Spartan who had been exiled from his native land and taken refuge with him, and with a scoff at the replies he asked the Laconian, "Will the Greeks flee more swiftly than my horses can run, or will they dare to face such

[1] *κατασκεψομένους τοὺς τόπους ἅμα δὲ πευσομένους* suggested by Madvig; *μὲν* deleted by Dindorf, Müller.

τηλικαύτας δυνάμεις παρατάξασθαι τολμήσουσι;
2 τὸν δὲ Δημάρατον εἰπεῖν φασιν ὡς Οὐδ' αὐτὸς σὺ τὴν ἀνδρείαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀγνοεῖς· τοὺς γὰρ ἀφισταμένους τῶν βαρβάρων Ἑλληνικαῖς δυνάμεσι καταπολεμεῖς· ὥστε μὴ νόμιζε τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς ἄμεινον τῶν Περσῶν ἀγωνιζομένους ὑπὲρ τῆς ἰδίας ἐλευθερίας ἧττον κινδυνεύσειν πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας. ὁ δὲ Ξέρξης καταγελάσας αὐτοῦ προσέταξεν ἀκολουθεῖν, ὅπως ἴδῃ φεύγοντας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους.

3 Τὴν δὲ δύναμιν ἀναλαβὼν ἧκεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Θερμοπύλαις Ἕλληνας, προτάξας ἁπάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν Μήδους, εἴτε δι' ἀνδρείαν προκρίνας αὐτοὺς εἴτε καὶ βουλόμενος ἅπαντας ἀπολέσαι· ἐνῆν γὰρ ἔτι φρόνημα τοῖς Μήδοις, τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἡγε-
4 μονίας οὐ πάλαι καταπεπονημένης. συνυπέδειξε[1] δὲ τοῖς Μήδοις καὶ τῶν ἐν Μαραθῶνι τετελευτηκότων ἀδελφοὺς καὶ υἱούς, νομίζων τούτους ἐκθυμότατα τιμωρήσεσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας. οἱ μὲν οὖν Μῆδοι τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον συνταχθέντες προσέπεσον τοῖς φυλάττουσι τὰς Θερμοπύλας· ὁ δὲ Λεωνίδης εὖ παρεσκευασμένος συνήγαγε τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπὶ τὸ στενώτατον τῆς παρόδου.

7. Γενομένης δὲ μάχης καρτερᾶς, καὶ τῶν μὲν βαρβάρων θεατὴν ἐχόντων τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν βασιλέα, τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων μιμνησκομένων τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ παρακαλουμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Λεωνίδου πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα, θαυμαστὸν συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι τὸν κίνδυνον.
2 συστάδην γὰρ οὔσης τῆς μάχης καὶ τῶν πληγῶν

[1] The MSS. read: συνέβη δὲ ἐν τοῖς Μήδοις εἶναι καὶ τῶν ἐν Μαραθῶνι τετελευτηκότων. συνυπέδειξε δὲ κτλ. It is probable that συνυπέδειξε . . . τετελευτηκότων was in error written twice and συνέβη . . . εἶναι was an attempt to correct this error. The text is that preferred by editors before Vogel.

armaments in battle?" And Demaratus, we are told, replied, "You yourself are not unacquainted with the courage of the Greeks, since you use Greek forces to quell such barbarians as revolt. So do not think that those who fight better than the Persians to maintain your sovereignty, will risk their lives less bravely against the Persians to maintain their own freedom." But Xerxes with a scoff at him ordered Demaratus to stay by his side in order that he might witness the Lacedaemonians in flight.

Xerxes with his army came against the Greeks at Thermopylae. And he put the Medes in front of all the other peoples, either because he preferred them by reason of their courage or because he wished to destroy them in a body; for the Medes still retained a proud spirit, the supremacy which their ancestors had exercised having only recently been overthrown. And he also designated together with the Medes the brothers and sons of those who had fallen at Marathon, believing that they would wreak vengeance upon the Greeks with the greatest fury. The Medes, then, having been drawn up for battle in the manner we have described, attacked the defenders of Thermopylae; but Leonidas had made careful preparation and massed the Greeks in the narrowest part of the pass.

7. The fight which followed was a fierce one, and since the barbarians had the king as a witness of their valour and the Greeks kept in mind their liberty and were exhorted to the fray by Leonidas, it followed that the struggle was amazing. For since the men stood shoulder to shoulder in the fighting and

ἐκ χειρὸς γινομένων, ἔτι δὲ τῆς συστάσεως πεπυκνωμένης, ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἰσόρροπος ἦν ἡ μάχη. τῶν δ' Ἑλλήνων ὑπερεχόντων ταῖς ἀρεταῖς καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῶν ἀσπίδων, μόγις ἐνέδωκαν οἱ Μῆδοι· πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἔπεσον, οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ κατετραυματίσθησαν. τοῖς δὲ Μήδοις ἐπιτεταγμένοι Κίσσιοι καὶ Σάκαι κατ' ἀρετὴν ἐπίλεκτοι διεδέξαντο τὴν μάχην, καὶ νεοχμοὶ πρὸς διαπεπονημένους συμβαλόντες ὀλίγον μὲν χρόνον ὑπέμενον τὸν κίνδυνον, κτεινόμενοι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν
3 Λεωνίδην καὶ βιασθέντες ὑπεχώρησαν· ἀσπίσι γὰρ καὶ πέλταις μικραῖς οἱ βάρβαροι χρώμενοι κατὰ μὲν τὰς εὐρυχωρίας ἐπλεονέκτουν, εὐκίνητοι γινόμενοι, κατὰ δὲ τὰς στενοχωρίας τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους οὐκ εὐχερῶς ἐτίτρωσκον, συμπεφραγμένους καὶ μεγάλαις ἀσπίσι σκεπαζομένους ὅλον τὸ σῶμα, αὐτοὶ δὲ διὰ τὰς κουφότητας τῶν σκεπαστηρίων ὅπλων ἐλαττούμενοι πυκνοῖς τραύμασι περιέπιπτον.

4 Τέλος δὲ ὁ Ξέρξης ὁρῶν πάντα μὲν τὸν περὶ τὰς παρόδους τόπον νεκρῶν ἐστρωμένον, τοὺς δὲ βαρβάρους οὐχ ὑπομένοντας τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρετάς, προσέπεμψε τοὺς τῶν Περσῶν ἐπιλέκτους ὀνομαζομένους ἀθανάτους καὶ δοκοῦντας ταῖς ἀνδραγαθίαις πρωτεύειν τῶν συστρατευομένων. ὡς δὲ καὶ οὗτοι βραχὺν ἀντιστάντες χρόνον ἔφυγον, τότε μὲν τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπιλαβούσης διελύθησαν, παρὰ μὲν τοῖς βαρβάροις πολλῶν ἀνῃρημένων, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὀλίγων πεπτωκότων.

8. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ Ξέρξης μέν, παρὰ προσδοκίαν αὐτῷ τῆς μάχης λαβούσης τὸ τέλος, ἐξ ἁπάντων

the blows were struck in close combat, and the lines were densely packed, for a considerable time the battle was equally balanced. But since the Greeks were superior in valour and in the great size of their shields, the Medes gradually gave way; for many of them were slain and not a few wounded. The place of the Medes in the battle was taken by Cissians and Sacae, selected for their valour, who had been stationed to support them; and joining the struggle fresh as they were against men who were worn out they withstood the hazard of combat for a short while, but as they were slain and pressed upon by the soldiers of Leonidas, they gave way. For the barbarians used small round or irregularly shaped shields, by which they enjoyed an advantage in open fields, since they were thus enabled to move more easily, but in narrow places they could not easily inflict wounds upon an enemy who were formed in close ranks and had their entire bodies protected by large shields, whereas they, being at a disadvantage by reason of the lightness of their protective armour, received repeated wounds.

At last Xerxes, seeing that the entire area about the passes was strewn with dead bodies and that the barbarians were not holding out against the valour of the Greeks, sent forward the picked Persians known as the "Immortals," who were reputed to be pre-eminent among the entire host for their deeds of courage. But when these also fled after only a brief resistance, then at last, as night fell, they ceased from battle, the barbarians having lost many dead and the Greeks a small number.

8. On the following day Xerxes, now that the battle had turned out contrary to his expectation,

τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπέλεξε τοὺς δοκοῦντας ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ θράσει διαφέρειν, καὶ πολλὰ δεηθεὶς αὐτῶν προεῖπεν, ὅτι βιασαμένοις μὲν αὐτοῖς τὴν εἴσοδον δωρεὰς ἀξιολόγους δώσει, φεύγουσι δὲ θάνατος ἔσται
2 τὸ πρόστιμον. τούτων δὲ μετὰ μεγάλης συστροφῆς καὶ βίας ἐπιρραξάντων τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, οἱ περὶ Λεωνίδην τότε συμφράξαντες καὶ τείχει παραπλησίαν ποιησάμενοι τὴν σύστασιν ἐκθύμως ἠγωνίζοντο. ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο δὲ προέβησαν ταῖς προθυμίαις, ὥστε τοὺς εἰωθότας ἐκ διαδοχῆς μεταλαμβάνειν τῆς μάχης οὐ συνεχώρησαν, ἀλλὰ τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῆς κακοπαθείας περιγενόμενοι πολλοὺς ἀνῄρουν τῶν
3 ἐπιλέκτων βαρβάρων. ἐνημερεύοντες[1] δὲ τοῖς κινδύνοις ἡμιλλῶντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους· οἱ μὲν γὰρ πρεσβύτεροι πρὸς τὰς τῶν νέων ἀκμὰς παρεβάλλοντο,[2] οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι πρὸς τὰς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἐμπειρίας τε καὶ δόξας ἡμιλλῶντο. τέλος δὲ φευγόντων καὶ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων, οἱ τὴν ἐπιτεταγμένην στάσιν ἔχοντες τῶν βαρβάρων συμφράξαντες οὐκ εἴων φεύγειν τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους· διόπερ ἠναγκάζοντο πάλιν ἀναστρέφειν καὶ μάχεσθαι.

4 Ἀπορουμένου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ νομίζοντος μηδένα τολμήσειν ἔτι μάχεσθαι, ἧκε πρὸς αὐτὸν Τραχίνιός τις τῶν ἐγχωρίων, ἔμπειρος ὢν τῆς ὀρεινῆς χώρας. οὗτος τῷ Ξέρξῃ προσελθὼν ἐπηγγείλατο διά τινος ἀτραποῦ στενῆς καὶ παρακρήμνου τοὺς Πέρσας ὁδηγήσειν, ὥστε γενέσθαι τοὺς συνελθόντας αὐτῷ κατόπιν τῶν περὶ τὸν Λεωνίδην, καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ περιληφθέντας αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ
5 μέσον ῥᾳδίως ἀναιρεθήσεσθαι. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς περι-

[1] So Dindorf: ἐφημερεύοντες.
[2] So Vogel: ὑπερεβάλλοντο.

choosing from all the peoples of his army such men as were reputed to be of outstanding bravery and daring, after an earnest exhortation announced before the battle that if they should storm the approach he would give them notable gifts, but if they fled the punishment would be death. These men hurled themselves upon the Greeks as one mighty mass and with great violence, but the soldiers of Leonidas closed their ranks at this time, and making their formation like a wall took up the struggle with ardour. And so far did they go in their eagerness that the lines which were wont to join in the battle by turns would not withdraw, but by their unintermitted endurance of the hardship they got the better and slew many of the picked barbarians. The day long they spent in conflict, vying with one another; for the older soldiers challenged the fresh vigour of the youth, and the younger matched themselves against the experience and fame of their elders. And when finally even the picked barbarians turned in flight, the barbarians who were stationed in reserve blocked the way and would not permit the picked soldiers to flee; consequently they were compelled to turn back and renew the battle.

While the king was in a state of dismay, believing that no man would have the courage to go into battle again, there came to him a certain Trachinian, a native of the region, who was familiar with the mountainous area. This man was brought into the presence of Xerxes and undertook to conduct the Persians by way of a narrow and precipitous path, so that the men who accompanied him would get behind the forces of Leonidas, which, being surrounded in this manner, would be easily annihilated. The king was

χαρὴς ἐγένετο, καὶ τιμήσας δωρεαῖς τὸν Τραχίνιον συνεξέπεμψεν αὐτῷ στρατιώτας δισμυρίους νυκτός. τῶν δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Πέρσαις τις ὄνομα Τυρραστιάδας, τὸ γένος ὢν Κυμαῖος, φιλόκαλος δὲ καὶ τὸν τρόπον ὢν ἀγαθός, διαδρὰς ἐκ τῆς τῶν Περσῶν παρεμβολῆς νυκτὸς ἧκε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Λεωνίδην, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Τραχίνιον ἀγνοοῦσιν ἐδήλωσεν.

9. Ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ Ἕλληνες συνήδρευσαν περὶ μέσας νύκτας καὶ ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ τῶν ἐπιφερομένων κινδύνων. ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν ἔφασαν δεῖν παραχρῆμα καταλιπόντας τὰς παρόδους διασώζεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς συμμάχους· ἀδύνατον γὰρ εἶναι τοῖς μείνασι τυχεῖν σωτηρίας· Λεωνίδης δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων φιλοτιμούμενος αὑτῷ τε δόξαν περιθεῖναι μεγάλην καὶ τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις, προσέταξε τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους Ἕλληνας ἅπαντας ἀπιέναι καὶ σώζειν ἑαυτούς, ἵνα κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας μάχας συναγωνίζωνται τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔφησε δεῖν μένειν καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν παρόδων μὴ λιπεῖν· πρέπειν γὰρ τοὺς ἡγουμένους τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑπὲρ τῶν πρωτείων ἀγωνιζο-
2 μένους ἀποθνήσκειν ἑτοίμως. εὐθὺς οὖν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ἀπηλλάγησαν, ὁ δὲ Λεωνίδης μετὰ τῶν πολιτῶν ἡρωικὰς πράξεις καὶ παραδόξους ἐπετελέσατο, ὀλίγων δ' ὄντων Λακεδαιμονίων (Θεσπιεῖς γὰρ μόνους παρακατέσχε), καὶ τοὺς σύμπαντας ἔχων οὐ πλείους τῶν πεντακοσίων, ἕτοιμος ἦν ὑποδέξασθαι τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος θάνατον.

delighted, and heaping presents upon the Trachinian he dispatched twenty thousand soldiers with him under cover of night. But a certain man among the Persians named Tyrrhastiadas, a Cymaean by birth, who was honourable and upright in his ways, deserting from the camp of the Persians in the night came to Leonidas, who knew nothing of the act of the Trachinian, and informed him.

9. The Greeks, on hearing of this, gathered together about the middle of the night and conferred about the perils which were bearing down on them. And although some declared that they should relinquish the pass at once and make their way in safety to the allies, stating that any who remained in the place could not possibly come off with their lives, Leonidas, the king of the Lacedaemonians, being eagerly desirous to win both for himself and for the Spartans a garland of great glory, gave orders that the rest of the Greeks should all depart and win safety for themselves, in order that they might fight together with the Greeks in the battles which still remained; but as for the Lacedaemonians, he said, they must remain and not abandon the defence of the pass, for it was fitting that those who were the leaders of Hellas should gladly die striving for the meed of honour.[1] Immediately, then, all the rest departed, but Leonidas together with his fellow citizens performed heroic and astounding deeds; and although the Lacedaemonians were but few (he detained only the Thespiaeans) and he had all told not more than five hundred men, he was ready to meet death on behalf of Hellas.

[1] The heroism of the Spartans has been depreciated by Munro (*Camb. Anc. Hist.* 4, pp. 297 ff.) who thinks that Leonidas believed he had "one day more."

3 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ μὲν μετὰ τοῦ Τραχινίου Πέρσαι περιελθόντες τὰς δυσχωρίας ἄφνω τοὺς περὶ τὸν Λεωνίδην ἀπέλαβον εἰς τὸ μέσον, οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες τὴν μὲν σωτηρίαν ἀπογνόντες, τὴν δ' εὐδοξίαν ἑλόμενοι, μιᾷ φωνῇ τὸν ἡγούμενον ἠξίουν ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, πρὶν ἢ γνῶναι τοὺς Πέρσας τὴν τῶν
4 ἰδίων περίοδον. Λεωνίδης δὲ τὴν ἑτοιμότητα τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποδεξάμενος, τούτοις παρήγγειλε ταχέως ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι, ὡς ἐν Ἅιδου δειπνησομένους· αὐτὸς δ' ἀκολούθως τῇ παραγγελίᾳ τροφὴν προσηνέγκατο, νομίζων οὕτω δυνήσεσθαι πολὺν χρόνον ἰσχύειν καὶ φέρειν τὴν ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ὑπομονήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ συντόμως ἀναλαβόντες αὑτοὺς ἕτοιμοι πάντες ὑπῆρξαν, παρήγγειλε τοῖς στρατιώταις εἰσπεσόντας εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν φονεύειν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὴν ὁρμῆσαι τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως σκηνήν.

10. Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἀκολούθως ταῖς παραγγελίαις συμφράξαντες νυκτὸς εἰσέπεσον εἰς τὴν τῶν Περσῶν στρατοπεδείαν, προκαθηγουμένου τοῦ Λεωνίδου· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι διά τε τὸ παράδοξον καὶ τὴν ἄγνοιαν μετὰ πολλοῦ θορύβου συνέτρεχον ἐκ τῶν σκηνῶν ἀτάκτως, καὶ νομίσαντες τοὺς μετὰ τοῦ Τραχινίου πορευομένους ἀπολωλέναι καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἅπασαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων παρεῖναι, κατεπλάγησαν.
2 διὸ καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Λεωνίδην ἀνῃροῦντο, πλείους δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ὡς ὑπὸ πολεμίων διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν ἀπώλοντο. ἥ τε γὰρ νὺξ

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[1] Herodotus (7. 223) knows nothing of this assault by the Greeks upon the Persian camp, and it is of course altogether incredible; he says that the fighting began about the time

After this the Persians who were led by the Trachinian, after making their way around the difficult terrain, suddenly caught Leonidas between their forces, and the Greeks, giving up any thought of their own safety and choosing renown instead, with one voice asked their commander to lead them against the enemy before the Persians should learn that their men had made their way around them. And Leonidas, welcoming the eagerness of his soldiers, ordered them to prepare their breakfast quickly, since they would dine in Hades, and he himself, in accordance with the order he had given, took food, believing that by so doing he could keep his strength for a long time and endure the strain of contest. When they had hastily refreshed themselves and all were ready, he ordered the soldiers to attack the camp, slaying any who came in their way, and to strike for the very pavilion of the king.

10. The soldiers, then, in accordance with the orders given them, forming in a compact body fell by night upon the encampment of the Persians, Leonidas leading the attack [1]; and the barbarians, because of the unexpectedness of the attack and their ignorance of the reason for it, ran together from their tents with great tumult and in disorder, and thinking that the soldiers who had set out with the Trachinian had perished and that the entire force of the Greeks was upon them, they were struck with terror. Consequently many of them were slain by the troops of Leonidas, and even more perished at the hands of their comrades, who in their ignorance took them for enemies. For the night prevented any

"when the market-place is crowded," *i.e.* in the forenoon, on the initiative of the Persians.

ἀφῃρεῖτο τὴν ἀληθινὴν ἐπίγνωσιν, ἥ τε ταραχὴ καθ' ὅλην οὖσα τὴν στρατοπεδείαν εὐλόγως πολὺν ἐποίει φόνον· ἔκτεινον γὰρ ἀλλήλους, οὐ διδούσης τῆς περιστάσεως τὸν ἐξετασμὸν ἀκριβῆ διὰ τὸ μήτε ἡγεμόνος παραγγελίαν μήτε συνθήματος ἐρώτησιν
3 μήτε ὅλως διανοίας κατάστασιν ὑπάρχειν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔμεινεν ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς σκηνῆς, ῥᾳδίως ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀνῄρητο καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ἅπας ταχείας ἂν ἐτετεύχει καταλύσεως· νῦν δ' ὁ μὲν Ξέρξης ἦν ἐκπεπηδηκὼς πρὸς τὴν ταραχήν, οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες εἰσπεσόντες εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν τοὺς ἐγκαταληφθέντας ἐν αὐτῇ σχεδὸν
4 ἅπαντας ἐφόνευσαν. τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς καθεστώσης ἐπλανῶντο καθ' ὅλην τὴν παρεμβολὴν ζητοῦντες τὸν Ξέρξην εὐλόγως· ἡμέρας δὲ γενομένης καὶ τῆς ὅλης περιστάσεως δηλωθείσης, οἱ μὲν Πέρσαι θεωροῦντες ὀλίγους ὄντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας, κατεφρόνησαν αὐτῶν, καὶ κατὰ στόμα μὲν οὐ συνεπλέκοντο, φοβούμενοι τὰς ἀρετὰς αὐτῶν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πλαγίων καὶ ἐξόπισθεν περιιστάμενοι καὶ πανταχόθεν τοξεύοντες καὶ ἀκοντίζοντες ἅπαντας ἀπέκτειναν. οἱ μὲν οὖν μετὰ Λεωνίδου τὰς ἐν Θερμοπύλαις παρόδους τηροῦντες τοιοῦτον ἔσχον τοῦ βίου τὸ τέλος.

11. Ὧν τὰς ἀρετὰς τίς οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσειεν; οἵτινες μιᾷ γνώμῃ χρησάμενοι τὴν μὲν ἀφωρισμένην τάξιν ὑπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐκ ἔλιπον, τὸν ἑαυτῶν δὲ βίον προθύμως ἐπέδωκαν εἰς τὴν κοινὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων σωτηρίαν, καὶ μᾶλλον εἵλοντο τελευτᾶν καλῶς ἢ ζῆν αἰσχρῶς. καὶ τὴν τῶν Περσῶν δὲ
2 κατάπληξιν οὐκ ἄν τις ἀπιστήσαι γενέσθαι. τίς γὰρ ἂν τῶν βαρβάρων ὑπέλαβε τὸ γεγενημένον;

understanding of the true state of affairs, and the confusion, extending as it did throughout the entire encampment, occasioned, we may well believe, great slaughter; since they kept killing one another, the conditions not allowing of a close scrutiny, because there was no order from a general nor any demanding of a password nor, in general, any recovery of reason. Indeed, if the king had remained at the royal pavilion, he also could easily have been slain by the Greeks and the whole war would have reached a speedy conclusion; but as it was, Xerxes had rushed out to the tumult, and the Greeks broke into the pavilion and slew almost to a man all whom they caught there. So long as it was night they wandered throughout the entire camp seeking Xerxes—a reasonable action; but when the day dawned and the entire state of affairs was made manifest, the Persians, observing that the Greeks were few in number, viewed them with contempt; the Persians did not, however, join battle with them face to face, fearing their valour, but they formed on their flanks and rear, and shooting arrows and hurling javelins at them from every direction they slew them to a man. Now as for the soldiers of Leonidas who guarded the passes of Thermopylae, such was the end of life they met.

11. The merits of these men, who would not regard them with wonder? They with one accord did not desert the post to which Greece had assigned them, but gladly offered up their own lives for the common salvation of all Greeks, and preferred to die bravely rather than to live shamefully. The consternation of the Persians also, no one could doubt that they felt it. For what man among the barbarians could have conceived of that which had taken place? Who

τίς δ' ἂν προσεδόκησεν ὅτι πεντακόσιοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες ἐτόλμησαν ἐπιθέσθαι ταῖς ἑκατὸν μυριάσι; διὸ καὶ τίς οὐκ ἂν τῶν μεταγενεστέρων ζηλώσαι τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἵτινες τῷ μεγέθει τῆς περιστάσεως κατεσχημένοι τοῖς μὲν σώμασι κατεπονήθησαν, ταῖς δὲ ψυχαῖς οὐχ ἡττήθησαν; τοιγαροῦν οὗτοι μόνοι τῶν μνημονευομένων κρατηθέντες ἐνδοξότεροι γεγόνασι τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τὰς καλλίστας νίκας ἀπενηνεγμένων. χρὴ γὰρ οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων κρίνειν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς
3 προαιρέσεως· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἡ τύχη κυρία, τοῦ δ' ἡ προαίρεσις δοκιμάζεται. τίς γὰρ ἂν ἐκείνων ἀμείνους ἄνδρας κρίνειεν, οἵτινες οὐδὲ τῷ χιλιοστῷ μέρει τῶν πολεμίων ἴσοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες ἐτόλμησαν τοῖς ἀπιστουμένοις πλήθεσι παρατάξαι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀρετήν; οὐ κρατήσειν τῶν τοσούτων μυριάδων ἐλπίζοντες, ἀλλ' ἀνδραγαθίᾳ τοὺς πρὸ αὐτῶν ἅπαντας ὑπερβαλεῖν νομίζοντες, καὶ τὴν μὲν μάχην αὐτοῖς[1] εἶναι κρίνοντες πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους, τὸν ἀγῶνα δὲ καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀριστείων κρίσιν πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐπ' ἀρετῇ θαυμαζομένους ὑπ-
4 άρχειν. μόνοι γὰρ τῶν ἐξ αἰῶνος μνημονευομένων εἵλοντο μᾶλλον τηρεῖν τοὺς τῆς πόλεως νόμους ἢ τὰς ἰδίας ψυχάς, οὐ δυσφοροῦντες ἐπὶ τῷ μεγίστους ἑαυτοῖς ἐφεστάναι κινδύνους, ἀλλὰ κρίνοντες εὐκταιότατον εἶναι τοῖς ἀρετὴν ἀσκοῦσι τοιούτων
5 ἀγώνων τυγχάνειν. δικαίως δ' ἄν τις τούτους καὶ τῆς κοινῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας αἰτίους ἡγή-

[1] αὐτοῖς] ἐν αὐτοῖς FMK, ἑαυτοῖς Eichstädt.

could have expected that a band of only five hundred ever had the daring to charge against the hundred myriads? Consequently what man of later times might not emulate the valour of those warriors who, finding themselves in the grip of an overwhelming situation, though their bodies were subdued, were not conquered in spirit? These men, therefore, alone of all of whom history records, have in defeat been accorded a greater fame than all others who have won the fairest victories. For judgement must be passed upon brave men, not by the outcome of their actions, but by their purpose; in the one case Fortune is mistress, in the other it is the purpose which wins approval. What man would judge any to be braver than were those Spartans who, though not equal in number to even the thousandth part of the enemy, dared to match their valour against the unbelievable multitudes? Nor had they any hope of overcoming so many myriads, but they believed that in bravery they would surpass all men of former times, and they decided that, although the battle they had to fight was against the barbarians, yet the real contest and the award of valour they were seeking was in competition with all who had ever won admiration for their courage. Indeed they alone of those of whom we have knowledge from time immemorial chose rather to preserve the laws of their state than their own lives, not feeling aggrieved that the greatest perils threatened them, but concluding that the greatest boon for which those who practise valour should pray is the opportunity to play a part in contests of this kind. And one would be justified in believing that it was these men who were more responsible for the common freedom of the Greeks

σαιτο ἢ τοὺς ὕστερον ἐν ταῖς πρὸς Ξέρξην μάχαις νικήσαντας· τούτων γὰρ τῶν πράξεων μνημονεύοντες οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι κατεπλάγησαν, οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες παρωξύνθησαν πρὸς τὴν ὁμοίαν ἀνδραγαθίαν.

6 Καθόλου δὲ μόνοι τῶν πρὸ ἑαυτῶν διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς εἰς ἀθανασίαν μετήλλαξαν. διόπερ οὐχ οἱ τῶν ἱστοριῶν συγγραφεῖς μόνον, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν καθύμνησαν αὐτῶν τὰς ἀνδραγαθίας· ὧν γέγονε καὶ Σιμωνίδης, ὁ μελοποιός, ἄξιον τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτῶν ποιήσας ἐγκώμιον, ἐν ᾧ λέγει[1]·

τῶν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις θανόντων
εὐκλεὴς μὲν ἁ τύχα, καλὸς δ᾿ ὁ πότμος,
βωμὸς δ᾿ ὁ τάφος, πρὸ γόων[2] δὲ μνᾶστις, ὁ δ᾿
οἶτος ἔπαινος.
ἐντάφιον δὲ τοιοῦτον οὔτ᾿ εὐρὼς
οὔθ᾿ ὁ πανδαμάτωρ ἀμαυρώσει χρόνος.
ἀνδρῶν δ᾿ ἀγαθῶν ὅδε[3] σηκὸς οἰκέταν εὐδοξίαν
Ἑλλάδος εἵλετο· μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ Λεωνίδας
ὁ Σπάρτας βασιλεύς, ἀρετᾶς μέγαν λελοιπὼς
κόσμον ἀέναόν τε κλέος.

12. Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀρκούντως περὶ τῆς τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀρετῆς εἰρηκότες ἐπάνιμεν ἐπὶ τὰ συνεχῆ τοῖς εἰρημένοις. Ξέρξης γὰρ τῶν παρόδων τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον κρατήσας καὶ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν

[1] The text of Bergk and of Smyth is preferred to that of Vogel, except Bergk's οἶκτος (l. 3).
[2] πρὸ γόων Eichstädt: προγόνων.
[3] So Bergk: ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν. ὁ δέ.

than those who were victorious at a later time in the battles against Xerxes; for when the deeds of these men were called to mind, the Persians were dismayed whereas the Greeks were incited to perform similar courageous exploits.

And, speaking in general terms, these men alone of the Greeks down to their time passed into immortality because of their exceptional valour. Consequently not only the writers of history but also many of our poets have celebrated their brave exploits; and one of them is Simonides, the lyric poet, who composed the following encomium[1] in their praise, worthy of their valour:

Of those who perished at Thermopylae
All glorious is the fortune, fair the doom;
Their grave's an altar, ceaseless memory's theirs
Instead of lamentation, and their fate
Is chant of praise. Such winding-sheet as this
Nor mould nor all-consuming time shall waste.
This sepulchre of valiant men has taken
The fair renown of Hellas for its inmate.
And witness is Leonidas, once king
Of Sparta, who hath left behind a crown
Of valour mighty and undying fame.

12. Now that we have spoken at sufficient length of the valour of these men we shall resume the course of our narrative. Xerxes, now that he had gained the passes in the manner we have described and had

[1] Frag. 4 (Bergk). "Encomium" is not to be taken in the technical sense it had in the fifth century B.C. There is considerable reason to think that the following lines were part of a poem sung at the shrine of the fallen in Sparta. See C. M. Bowra in *Class. Phil.* 28 (1933), pp. 277-281.

τὴν Καδμείαν νίκην νενικηκώς, ὀλίγους μὲν τῶν πολεμίων ἀνεῖλε, πολλαπλασίους δὲ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπώλεσεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πεζῇ τῶν παρόδων ἐκυρίευσε, τῶν κατὰ τὴν θάλατταν ἀγώνων ἔκρινε λαμβάνειν
2 πεῖραν. εὐθὺς οὖν τὸν ἀφηγούμενον τοῦ στόλου Μεγαβάτην προσκαλεσάμενος διεκελεύσατο πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ναυτικὸν καὶ πειρᾶσθαι παντὶ
3 τῷ στόλῳ ναυμαχεῖν πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. ὁ δὲ ταῖς τοῦ βασιλέως παραγγελίαις ἀκολουθῶν ἐκ Πύδνης τῆς Μακεδονικῆς ἀνήχθη παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ, καὶ κατέπλευσε τῆς Μαγνησίας πρὸς ἄκραν τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Σηπιάδα. ἐνταῦθα δὲ μεγάλου πνεύματος ἐπιγενομένου ἀπέβαλε ναῦς μακρὰς[1] μὲν ὑπὲρ τὰς τριακοσίας, ἱππαγωγοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων παμπληθεῖς. λήξαντος δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος ἀναχθεὶς κατέπλευσεν εἰς Ἀφέτας τῆς Μαγνησίας. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ διακοσίας τριήρεις ἐξέπεμψε, προστάξας τοῖς ἡγεμόσι περιπλεῦσαι καὶ τὴν Εὔβοιαν δεξιὰν λαβόντας κυκλώσασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους.

4 Οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες ὥρμουν μὲν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ τῆς Εὐβοίας, εἶχον δὲ τὰς πάσας τριήρεις διακοσίας καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα· καὶ τούτων ἦσαν τῶν μὲν Ἀθηναίων ἑκατὸν καὶ τετταράκοντα, αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων. τούτων δὲ ναύαρχος μὲν ἦν Εὐρυβιάδης ὁ Σπαρτιάτης, διῴκει δὲ τὰ περὶ τὸν στόλον Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Ἀθηναῖος· οὗτος γὰρ διὰ σύνεσιν καὶ στρατηγίαν μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς ἐτύγχανεν οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὸ ναυτικὸν Ἕλλησιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ Εὐρυβιάδῃ, καὶ πάντες τούτῳ προσέχον-
5 τες προθύμως ὑπήκουον. προτεθείσης δὲ βουλῆς

[1] *τριήρεις* after *μακρὰς* deleted by Dindorf.

won, as the proverb runs, a "Cadmeian victory,"[1] had destroyed only a few of the enemy, while he had lost great numbers of his own troops. And after he had become master of the passes by means of his land forces, he resolved to make trial of contest at sea. At once, therefore, summoning the commander of the fleet, Megabates, he ordered him to sail against the naval force of the Greeks and to make trial, with all his fleet, of a sea-battle against them. And Megabates, in accordance with the king's orders, set out from Pydnê in Macedonia with all the fleet and put in at a promontory of Magnesia which bears the name of Sepias. At this place a great wind arose and he lost more than three hundred warships and great numbers of cavalry transports and other vessels. And when the wind ceased, he weighed anchor and put in at Aphetae in Magnesia. From here he dispatched two hundred triremes, ordering the commanders to take a roundabout course and, by keeping Euboea on the right, to encircle the enemy.

The Greeks were stationed at Artemisium in Euboea and had in all two hundred and eighty triremes; of these ships one hundred and forty were Athenian and the remainder were furnished by the rest of the Greeks. Their admiral was Eurybiades the Spartan, and Themistocles the Athenian supervised the affairs of the fleet; for the latter, by reason of his sagacity and skill as a general, enjoyed great favour not only with the Greeks throughout the fleet but also with Eurybiades himself, and all men looked to him and harkened to him eagerly. And when a

[1] The reference is to the dearly won victory of the Thebans over the "Seven," described in Book 4. 65. The phrase is defined by Diodorus himself in Book 22 frag. 6.

ἐν τοῖς τῶν νεῶν ἡγεμόσι περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίας, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἔκριναν ἔχειν καὶ τὸν ἐπίπλουν τῶν πολεμίων ἀναδέχεσθαι, μόνος δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς τὴν ἐναντίαν ἀπεφήνατο[1] γνώμην, διδάσκων ὅτι συμφέρει παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ συντεταγμένῳ πλεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους· οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοὺς πλεονεκτήσειν ἀθρόαις ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐπιπλέοντας τοῖς διὰ τὴν ταραχὴν διεσπασμένην ἔχουσι τὴν τάξιν, ὡς ἂν ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ διεστηκότων λιμένων ἐκπλέουσι. τέλος δὲ κατὰ τὴν Θεμιστοκλέους κρίσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπέπλευσαν.
6 τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ἐκ πολλῶν λιμένων ἀναγομένων, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἱ περὶ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα διεσπαρμένοις τοῖς Πέρσαις συμπλεκόμενοι πολλὰς μὲν ναῦς κατέδυσαν, οὐκ ὀλίγας δὲ φυγεῖν ἀναγκάσαντες μέχρι τῆς γῆς κατεδίωξαν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παντὸς τοῦ στόλου συναχθέντος καὶ γενομένης ναυμαχίας ἰσχυρᾶς, μέρει μὲν τῶν νεῶν ἑκάτεροι ἐπροτέρησαν, οὐδέτεροι δὲ ὁλοσχερεῖ νίκῃ πλεονεκτήσαντες νυκτὸς ἐπιλαβούσης διελύθησαν.

13. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ναυμαχίαν χειμὼν ἐπιγενόμενος μέγας πολλὰς ἐκτὸς τοῦ λιμένος ὁρμούσας τῶν νεῶν διέφθειρεν, ὥστε δοκεῖν τὸ θεῖον ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἵνα τοῦ πλήθους τῶν βαρβαρικῶν νεῶν ταπεινωθέντος ἀντίπαλος ἡ τῶν Ἑλλήνων δύναμις γένηται καὶ πρὸς τὰς ναυμαχίας ἀξιόχρεως. διόπερ οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες ἀεὶ μᾶλλον ἐθάρρουν, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἀεὶ πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους ἐγίνοντο δειλότεροι. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἀναλαβόντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐκ τῆς ναυαγίας ἁπάσαις ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς
2 πολεμίους. οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες, προσγενομένων αὐτοῖς

[1] So Dindorf: ἀπεκρίνατο.

meeting of the commanders of the ships was held to discuss the engagement, the rest of them all favoured waiting to receive the advance of the enemy; but Themistocles alone expressed the opposite opinion, showing them that it was to their advantage to sail against the enemy with the whole fleet in one array; for in this way, he declared, they would have the upper hand, attacking as they would with their ships in a single body an enemy whose formation was broken by disorder, as it must be, for they would be issuing out of many harbours at some distance apart. In the end the Greeks followed the opinion of Themistocles and sailed against the enemy with the entire fleet. And since the barbarians put out from many harbours, at the outset Themistocles, engaging with the scattered Persians, sank many ships and not a few he forced to turn in flight and pursued as far as the land; but later, when the whole fleet had gathered and a fierce battle ensued, each side gained the superiority in one part of the line but neither won a complete victory, and at nightfall the engagement was broken off.

13. After the battle a great storm arose and destroyed many ships which were anchored outside the harbour, so that it appeared as if Providence were taking the part of the Greeks in order that, the multitude of the barbarians' ships having been lessened, the Greek force might become a match for them and strong enough to offer battle. As a result the Greeks grew ever more bold, whereas the barbarians became ever more timorous before the conflicts which faced them. Nevertheless, recovering themselves after the shipwreck, they put out with all their ships against the enemy. And the Greeks, with fifty Attic triremes

τριήρων πεντήκοντα Ἀττικῶν, ἀντιπαρετάχθησαν τοῖς βαρβάροις. ἦν δ' αὐτῶν ἡ ναυμαχία παραπλήσιος ταῖς περὶ τὰς Θερμοπύλας μάχαις· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Πέρσαι διεγνώκεσαν βιάσασθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ τὸν Εὔριπον διεκπλεῦσαι, οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες ἐμφράξαντες τὰ στενὰ προεμάχοντο τῶν ἐντὸς τῆς Εὐβοίας συμμαχούντων. γενομένης δὲ ναυμαχίας ἰσχυρᾶς πολλαὶ νῆες παρ' ἀμφοτέρων διεφθάρησαν, καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης ἠναγκάσθησαν ἀνακάμπτειν ἐπὶ τοὺς οἰκείους λιμένας. ἀριστεῦσαι δὲ ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς ναυμαχίαις φασὶ παρὰ μὲν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν Ἀθηναίους, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς βαρβάροις Σιδωνίους.

3 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀκούσαντες τὰ περὶ
Θερμοπύλας γενόμενα, πυθόμενοι δὲ καὶ τοὺς
Πέρσας πεζῇ προάγειν ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἠθύμη-
σαν· διόπερ ἀποπλεύσαντες εἰς Σαλαμῖνα διέτριβον
4 ἐνταῦθα. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι θεωροῦντες πανδημεὶ
κινδυνεύοντας τοὺς ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις, τέκνα[1] καὶ
γυναῖκας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χρησίμων ὅσα δυνατὸν
ἦν εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἐνθέντες διεκόμισαν εἰς Σαλαμῖνα.
5 ὁ δὲ τῶν Περσῶν ναύαρχος πυθόμενος τὸν τῶν
πολεμίων ἀπόπλουν, κατῆρεν εἰς τὴν Εὔβοιαν μετὰ
παντὸς τοῦ στόλου, καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἱστιαιέων πόλιν
βίᾳ χειρωσάμενος καὶ διαρπάσας τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν
ἐδῄωσεν.

14. Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Ξέρξης ἀπὸ τῶν Θερμοπυλῶν ἀναζεύξας προῆγε διὰ τῆς Φωκέων χώρας, πορθῶν μὲν τὰς πόλεις καταφθείρων

[1] μὲν after τέκνα deleted by Dindorf.

added to their number, took position opposed to the barbarians. The sea-battle which followed was much like the fighting at Thermopylae; for the Persians were resolved to overwhelm the Greeks and force their way through the Euripus,[1] while the Greeks, blocking the narrows, were fighting to preserve their allies in Euboea.[2] A fierce battle ensued and many ships were lost on both sides, and nightfall compelled them to return to their respective harbours. The prize of valour, we are told, in both battles was accorded to the Athenians for the Greeks and to the Sidonians for the barbarians.

After this the Greeks, on hearing of the course events had taken at Thermopylae and discovering that the Persians were advancing by land against Athens, became dispirited; consequently they sailed off to Salamis and awaited events there. The Athenians, surveying the dangers threatening each and every inhabitant of Athens, put on boats their children and wives and every useful article they could and brought them to Salamis. And the Persian admiral, on learning that the enemy had withdrawn, set sail for Euboea with his entire fleet, and taking the city of the Histiaeans by storm he plundered and ravaged their territory.

14. While these events were taking place, Xerxes set out from Thermopylae and advanced through the territory of the Phocians, sacking the cities and des-

[1] The straits between Euboea and the mainland.
[2] Herodotus (8. 4) says that the Euboeans asked the fleet to remain at Artemisium until they could get their families and possessions off the island.

δὲ τὰς ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας κτήσεις. οἱ δὲ Φωκεῖς τὰ[1]
τῶν Ἑλλήνων ᾑρημένοι, καὶ θεωροῦντες αὑτοὺς
οὐκ ἀξιομάχους ὄντας, τὰς μὲν πόλεις ἁπάσας
ἐξέλιπον πανδημεί, πρὸς δὲ τὰς δυσχωρίας τὰς ἐν
2 τῷ Παρνασσῷ κατέφυγον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ
βασιλεὺς τὴν μὲν τῶν Δωριέων χώραν διεξιὼν
οὐδὲν ἠδίκει· συνεμάχουν γὰρ Πέρσαις· αὐτοῦ[2] δὲ
μέρος μὲν τῆς[3] δυνάμεως ἀπέλιπε, καὶ προσέταξεν
εἰς Δελφοὺς ἰέναι καὶ τὸ μὲν τέμενος τοῦ Ἀπόλ-
λωνος ἐμπρῆσαι, τὰ δὲ ἀναθήματα συλῆσαι, αὐτὸς
δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων προελθὼν εἰς τὴν
3 Βοιωτίαν κατεστρατοπέδευσεν. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν
σύλησιν τοῦ μαντείου πεμφθέντες προῆλθον μὲν
μέχρι τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Προναίας Ἀθηνᾶς, ἐνταῦθα δὲ
παραδόξως[4] ὄμβρων μεγάλων καὶ κεραυνῶν πολ-
λῶν ἐκ τοῦ περιέχοντος πεσόντων, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις
τῶν χειμώνων πέτρας μεγάλας ἀπορρηξάντων εἰς
τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν βαρβάρων, συνέβη διαφθαρῆναι
συχνοὺς τῶν Περσῶν, πάντας δὲ καταπλαγέντας
4 τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἐνέργειαν φυγεῖν ἐκ τῶν τόπων. τὸ
μὲν οὖν ἐν Δελφοῖς μαντεῖον δαιμονίᾳ τινὶ προ-
νοίᾳ τὴν σύλησιν διέφυγεν· οἱ δὲ Δελφοὶ τῆς τῶν
θεῶν ἐπιφανείας ἀθάνατον ὑπόμνημα καταλιπεῖν
τοῖς μεταγενεστέροις βουλόμενοι, τρόπαιον ἔστησαν
παρὰ τὸ τῆς Προναίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν, ἐν ᾧ τόδε τὸ
ἐλεγεῖον ἐνέγραψαν,

μνᾶμά τ' ἀλεξάνδρου πολέμου καὶ μάρτυρα νίκας
Δελφοί με στᾶσαν, Ζανὶ χαριζόμενοι

[1] τὰ Rhodomann: μετὰ. [2] αὐτοῦ Reiske: αὐτός.
[3] τῆς added by Dindorf. [4] So Dindorf: παραδόξων.

troying all property in the countryside. Now the Phocians had chosen the cause of the Greeks, but seeing that they were unable to offer resistance, the whole populace deserted all their cities and fled for safety to the rugged regions about Mount Parnassus. Then the king passed through the territory of the Dorians, doing it no harm since they were allies of the Persians. Here he left behind a portion of his army and ordered it to proceed to Delphi, to burn the precinct of Apollo and to carry off the votive offerings, while he advanced into Boeotia with the rest of the barbarians and encamped there. The force that had been dispatched to sack the oracle had proceeded as far as the shrine of Athena Pronaea, but at that spot a great thunderstorm, accompanied by incessant lightning, suddenly burst from the heavens, and more than that, the storm wrenched loose huge rocks and hurled them into the host of the barbarians; the result was that large numbers of the Persians were killed and the whole force, dismayed at the intervention of the gods, fled from the region. So the oracle of Delphi, with the aid of some divine Providence, escaped pillage. And the Delphians, desiring to leave to succeeding generations a deathless memorial of the appearance of the gods among men, set up beside the temple of Athena Pronaea[1] a trophy on which they inscribed the following elegiac lines:

To serve as a memorial to war,
The warder-off of men, and as a witness
To victory the Delphians set me up,
Rendering thanks to Zeus and Phoebus who

[1] This temple of Athena Pronaea ("of the fore-shrine") lay just outside the shrine of Apollo (Paus. 10. 8. 6).

σὺν Φοίβῳ πτολίπορθον ἀπωσαμένοις[1] στίχα Μήδων
καὶ χαλκοστέφανον ῥυσαμένοις[1] τέμενος.

5 Ξέρξης δὲ διὰ τῆς Βοιωτίας διεξιὼν τὴν μὲν τῶν Θεσπιέων χώραν κατέφθειρε, τὰς δὲ Πλαταιὰς ἐρήμους οὔσας ἐνέπρησεν· οἱ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ταύταις κατοικοῦντες ἐπεφεύγεσαν εἰς Πελοπόννησον πανδημεί. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐμβαλόντες τὴν μὲν χώραν ἐδῄωσαν, τὰς δὲ Ἀθήνας κατέσκαψαν καὶ τοὺς τῶν θεῶν ναοὺς ἐνέπρησαν. τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως περὶ ταῦτα διατρίβοντος, κατέπλευσεν ὁ στόλος ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικήν, πεπορθηκὼς τήν τε Εὔβοιαν καὶ τὴν παράλιον τῆς Ἀττικῆς.

15. Κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν Κερκυραῖοι μὲν πληρώσαντες ἑξήκοντα τριήρεις διέτριβον περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον, ὡς μὲν αὐτοί φασιν, οὐ δυνάμενοι κάμψαι τὸ περὶ τὸν Μαλέαν ἀκρωτήριον, ὡς δέ τινες τῶν συγγραφέων ἱστοροῦσι, καραδοκοῦντες τὰς τοῦ πολέμου ῥοπάς, ὅπως Περσῶν μὲν κρατησάντων ἐκείνοις δῶσιν ὕδωρ καὶ γῆν, τῶν δ' Ἑλλήνων νικώντων δόξωσιν αὐτοῖς βεβοηθηκέναι.
2 οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα διατρίβοντες Ἀθηναῖοι, θεωροῦντες τὴν Ἀττικὴν πυρπολουμένην καὶ τὸ τέμενος τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἀκούοντες κατεσκάφθαι, δεινῶς ἠθύμουν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας πολὺς κατεῖχε φόβος πανταχόθεν συνεληλαμένους εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν Πελοπόννησον. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς πάντας τοὺς ἐφ' ἡγεμονίας τεταγμένους συνεδρεῦ-

[1] So Valckenaer (followed by Wurm) for ἀπωσάμενοι and ῥυσάμενοι of the MSS.

Thrust back the city-sacking ranks of Medes
And threw their guard about the bronze-crowned shrine.

Meanwhile Xerxes, as he passed through Boeotia, laid waste the territory of the Thespiaeans and burned Plataea which was without habitants; for the residents of these two cities had fled in a body into the Peloponnesus. After this he entered Attica and ravaged the countryside, and then he razed Athens to the ground and sent up in flames the temples of the gods. And while the king was concerned with these affairs, his fleet sailed from Euboea to Attica, having sacked on the way both Euboea and the coast of Attica.

15. During this time the Cercyraeans, who had fitted out sixty triremes, were waiting off the Peloponnesus, being unable, as they themselves allege, to round the promontory at Malea, but, as certain historians tell us, anxiously awaiting the turn of the war, in order that, if the Persians prevailed, they might then give them water and earth, while if the Greeks were victorious, they would get the credit of having come to their aid.[1] But the Athenians who were waiting in Salamis, when they saw Attica being laid waste with fire and heard that the sacred precinct of Athena[2] had been razed, were exceedingly disheartened. And likewise great fear gripped the other Greeks who, driven from every quarter, were now cooped up in the Peloponnesus alone. Consequently they thought it desirable that all who had

[1] Herodotus (7. 168) says the same thing about the Cercyraeans, but with more bitterness. They later alleged that the etesian winds prevented their rounding Cape Malea.
[2] The temenos of Athena was the entire Acropolis.

σαι καὶ βουλεύσασθαι, κατὰ ποίους τόπους συμφέρει ποιεῖσθαι[1] τὴν ναυμαχίαν. πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ποικίλων λόγων ῥηθέντων, οἱ μὲν Πελοποννήσιοι, τῆς ἰδίας μόνον ἀσφαλείας φροντίζοντες, ἔφασαν δεῖν περὶ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν συστήσασθαι τὸν ἀγῶνα· τετειχισμένου γὰρ αὐτοῦ καλῶς, ἐάν τι περὶ τὴν ναυμαχίαν γένηται πταῖσμα, δυνήσεσθαι τοὺς ἠτυχηκότας εἰς ἑτοιμοτάτην ἀσφάλειαν καταφυγεῖν τὴν Πελοπόννησον· ἐὰν δὲ συγκλείσωσιν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς μικρὰν νῆσον τὴν Σαλαμῖνα, δυσβοηθήτοις κακοῖς
4 περιπεσεῖσθαι. Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ συνεβούλευσε περὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα ποιεῖσθαι τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν νεῶν· πολλὰ γὰρ πλεονεκτήσειν ἐν ταῖς στενοχωρίαις τοὺς ὀλίγοις σκάφεσι διαγωνιζομένους πρὸς πολλαπλασίας ναῦς. καθόλου δὲ τὸν περὶ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν τόπον ἀπεφαίνετο παντελῶς ἄθετον ἔσεσθαι πρὸς τὴν ναυμαχίαν· ἔσεσθαι γὰρ πελάγιον τὸν ἀγῶνα, καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας διὰ τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν ῥᾳδίως καταπονήσεσθαι τὰς ὀλίγας ναῦς ταῖς πολλαπλασίαις. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ διαλεχθεὶς οἰκεῖα τῆς περιστάσεως, ἅπαντας ἔπεισεν αὐτῷ συμψήφους γενέσθαι τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον.

16. Τέλος δὲ κοινοῦ δόγματος γενομένου περὶ Σαλαμῖνα ναυμαχεῖν, οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες παρεσκευάζοντο τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας καὶ πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον. ὁ δ᾽ οὖν Εὐρυβιάδης παραλαβὼν τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα παρακαλεῖν ἐπεχείρει τὰ πλήθη καὶ προτρέπεσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἐπιφερόμενον κίνδυνον. οὐ μὴν τὸ πλῆθος

[1] Dindorf: πεποιῆσθαι.

been charged with command should meet in council and deliberate regarding the kind of place that would best serve their purpose in fighting a naval battle. Many ideas of various kinds were expressed. The Peloponnesians, thinking only of their own safety, declared that the contest should be held at the Isthmus; for it had been strongly fortified with a wall, and so, if they should suffer any reverse in the battle, the defeated would be able to withdraw for refuge into the most suitable place of safety available, the Peloponnesus, whereas, if they cooped themselves up in the little island of Salamis, perils would beset them from which it would be difficult for them to be rescued. But Themistocles counselled that the contest of the ships be held at Salamis, for he believed that those who had few ships to fight with would have many advantages, in the narrows of Salamis, against a vastly superior number of vessels. And speaking generally, he showed that the region about the Isthmus would be altogether unsuitable for the sea-battle; for the contest would take place on the open sea, and the Persians because of the room for manœuvring would easily subdue the small force of ships by their vastly superior numbers. And by presenting in like fashion many other facts pertinent to the occasion he persuaded all present to cast their votes with him for the plan he recommended.

16. When at last a decision was reached by all to fight the sea-battle at Salamis, the Greeks set about making the preparations necessary to meet the Persians and the peril of battle. Accordingly Eurybiades, accompanied by Themistocles, undertook to encourage the crews and incite them to face the impending struggle. However, the crews would not

ὑπήκουεν, ἀλλὰ πάντων καταπεπληγμένων τὸ μέγεθος τῶν Περσικῶν δυνάμεων οὐδεὶς προσεῖχε τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν, ἀλλ' ἕκαστος ἐκ τῆς Σαλαμῖνος ἐκπλεῖν
2 ἔσπευδεν εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον. οὐδὲν δ' ἧττον καὶ τὸ πεζὸν στρατόπεδον τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐδεδίει τὰς τῶν πολεμίων δυνάμεις, ἥ τε τῶν περὶ Θερμοπύλας ἀπώλεια τῶν ἀξιολογωτάτων ἀνδρῶν παρείχετο κατάπληξιν, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν συμπτώματα πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ὄντα πολλὴν ἀθυμίαν ἐνεποίει τοῖς
3 Ἕλλησιν. οἱ δὲ σύνεδροι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁρῶντες τὴν τῶν ὄχλων ταραχὴν καὶ τὴν ὅλην ἔκπληξιν, ἐψηφίσαντο διατειχίζειν τὸν Ἰσθμόν. καὶ ταχὺ τῶν ἔργων συντελεσθέντων διὰ τὴν προθυμίαν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐργαζομένων, οἱ μὲν Πελοποννήσιοι ὠχύρουν τὸ τεῖχος, διατεῖνον ἐπὶ σταδίους τετταράκοντα ἀπὸ Λεχαίου μέχρι Κεγχρεῶν, οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι διατρίβοντες μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στόλου κατεπλάγησαν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον, ὥστε μηκέτι πειθαρχεῖν τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν.

17. Ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁρῶν τὸν μὲν ναύαρχον Εὐρυβιάδην μὴ δυνάμενον περιγενέσθαι τῆς τοῦ πλήθους ὁρμῆς, τὰς δὲ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα δυσχωρίας δύνασθαι πολλὰ συμβαλέσθαι πρὸς τὴν νίκην, ἐμηχανήσατό τι τοιοῦτον· ἔπεισέ τινα πρὸς τὸν Ξέρξην αὐτομολῆσαι καὶ διαβεβαιώσασθαι, διότι μέλλουσιν αἱ κατὰ Σαλαμῖνα νῆες ἀποδιδράσκειν ἐκ τῶν τό-
2 πων καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἀθροίζεσθαι. διόπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς διὰ τὴν πιθανότητα τῶν προσαγγελθέντων πιστεύσας, ἔσπευδε κωλῦσαι τὰς ναυτικὰς δυνάμεις τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοῖς πεζοῖς στρατοπέδοις πλησιά-

heed them, but since they were one and all dismayed at the magnitude of the Persian forces, not a man of them paid any attention to his commander, every one being intent upon sailing from Salamis to the Peloponnesus. And the army of the Greeks on land was no whit less terrified by the armament of the enemy, and not only the loss at Thermopylae of their most illustrious warriors caused them dismay, but also the disasters which were taking place in Attica before their very eyes were filling the Greeks with utter despair. Meanwhile the members of the congress of the Greeks, observing the unrest of the masses and the dismay prevailing everywhere, voted to build a wall across the Isthmus. The works were completed speedily because of the enthusiasm and the multitude of those engaged in the task; but while the Peloponnesians were strengthening the wall, which extended a distance of forty stades, from Lechaeum to Cenchreae, the forces which were inactive at Salamis, together with the entire fleet, were so terror-stricken that they no longer obeyed the orders of their commanders.

17. Themistocles, perceiving that the admiral, Eurybiades, was unable to overcome the mood of his forces, and yet recognizing that the narrow quarters at Salamis could be a great aid in achieving the victory, contrived the following ruse: He induced a certain man to desert to Xerxes and to assure him that the ships at Salamis were going to slip away from that region and assemble at the Isthmus. Accordingly the king, believing the man because what he reported was in itself plausible, made haste to prevent the naval forces of the Greeks from making contact with their armies on land. Therefore

ζειν. εὐθὺς οὖν τὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ναυτικὸν ἐξέπεμψε, προστάξας ἐμφράττειν τὸν μεταξὺ πόρον τῆς τε Σαλαμῖνος καὶ τῆς Μεγαρίδος χώρας. τὸ δὲ ἄλλο πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν ἐξέπεμψεν ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα, προστάξας ἐξάπτεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ναυμαχίᾳ κρίνειν τὸν ἀγῶνα. ἦσαν δὲ αἱ τριήρεις διατεταγμέναι κατὰ ἔθνος ἑξῆς, ἵνα διὰ τὴν ὁμοφωνίαν καὶ γνῶσιν προθύμως ἀλλήλοις βοηθῶσιν.
3 οὕτω δὲ ταχθέντος τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στόλου, τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας ἐπεῖχον Φοίνικες, τὸ δ' εὐώνυμον οἱ μετὰ τῶν Περσῶν ὄντες Ἕλληνες.

Οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἰώνων ἡγεμόνες ἀπέστειλαν ἄνδρα Σάμιον πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὸν διασαφήσοντα περὶ τῶν δεδογμένων τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ περὶ τῆς ὅλης ἐκτάξεως, καὶ διότι κατὰ τὴν μάχην ἀποστήσονται
4 τῶν βαρβάρων. τοῦ δὲ Σαμίου λάθρᾳ διανηξαμένου καὶ περὶ τούτου διασαφήσαντος τοῖς περὶ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην, ὁ μὲν Θεμιστοκλῆς, κατὰ νοῦν αὐτῷ προκεχωρηκότος τοῦ στρατηγήματος, περιχαρὴς ἦν καὶ τὰ πλήθη παρεκάλεσεν εἰς τὸν κίνδυνον, οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Ἰώνων ἐπαγγελίᾳ θαρρήσαντες, καὶ τῆς περιστάσεως βιαζομένης αὐτοὺς παρὰ τὴν ἰδίαν προαίρεσιν ναυμαχεῖν, ἀπὸ τῆς Σαλαμῖνος προθύμως συγκατέβαινον εἰς τὴν ναυμαχίαν.

18. Τέλος δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα διαταξάντων τὰς δυνάμεις, τὸ μὲν εὐώνυμον μέρος ἐπεῖχον Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πρὸς τὸ τῶν Φοινίκων ναυτικὸν ἀντιταχθησόμενοι·

[1] This closed the route by which the Greeks could move west and south to the Peloponnesus; the Persian fleet already blocked the straits to the east.

he at once dispatched the Egyptian fleet with orders to block the strait which separates Salamis from the territory of Megaris.[1] The main body of his ships he dispatched to Salamis, ordering it to establish contact with the enemy and by fighting there decide the issue. The triremes were drawn up by peoples one after another, in order that, speaking the same language and knowing one another, the several contingents might assist each other with alacrity. When the fleet had been drawn up in this manner, the right wing was held by the Phoenicians and the left by the Greeks who were associated with the Persians.

The commanders of the Ionian contingents of the Persian fleet sent a man of Samos to the Greeks to inform them of what the king had decided to do and of the disposition of his forces for battle, and to say that in the course of the battle they were going to desert from the barbarians. And when the Samian had swum across without being observed and had informed Eurybiades about this plan, Themistocles, realizing that his stratagem had worked out as he had planned, was beside himself with joy and exhorted the crews to the fight; and as for the Greeks, they were emboldened by the promise of the Ionians, and although the circumstances were compelling them to fight against their own preference, they came down eagerly in a body from Salamis to the shore in preparation for the sea-battle.

18. When at last Eurybiades and Themistocles had completed the disposition of their forces, the left wing was held by the Athenians and Lacedaemonians, who in this way would be opposed to the ships of the Phoenicians; for the Phoenicians possessed a dis-

μεγάλην γὰρ οἱ Φοίνικες ὑπεροχὴν εἶχον διά τε τὸ
πλῆθος καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐκ προγόνων ἐν τοῖς ναυτικοῖς
2 ἔργοις ἐμπειρίαν· Αἰγινῆται δὲ καὶ Μεγαρεῖς τὸ
δεξιὸν κέρας ἀνεπλήρουν· οὗτοι γὰρ ἐδόκουν εἶναι
ναυτικώτατοι μετὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ μάλιστα
φιλοτιμήσεσθαι διὰ τὸ μόνους τῶν Ἑλλήνων μηδε-
μίαν ἔχειν καταφυγὴν εἴ τι συμβαίη πταῖσμα κατὰ
τὴν ναυμαχίαν· τὴν δὲ μέσην τάξιν ἐπεῖχε τὸ
λοιπὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων πλῆθος.

Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον συνταχθέντες
ἐξέπλευσαν, καὶ τὸν πόρον μεταξὺ Σαλαμῖνος καὶ
3 Ἡρακλείου κατεῖχον· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τῷ μὲν ναυ-
άρχῳ προσέταξεν ἐπιπλεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις, αὐτὸς
δ᾽ εἰς τὸν ἐναντίον τόπον τῆς Σαλαμῖνος παρῆλθεν,
4 ἐξ οὗ θεωρεῖν ἦν τὴν ναυμαχίαν γινομένην. οἱ δὲ
Πέρσαι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πλέοντες διετήρουν τὴν
τάξιν, ἔχοντες πολλὴν εὐρυχωρίαν· ὡς δ᾽ εἰς τὸ
στενὸν ἦλθον, ἠναγκάζοντο τῶν νεῶν τινας ἀπὸ τῆς
5 τάξεως ἀποσπᾶν, καὶ πολὺν ἐποίουν θόρυβον. ὁ
δὲ ναύαρχος προηγούμενος τῆς τάξεως καὶ πρῶτος
συνάψας μάχην διεφθάρη λαμπρῶς ἀγωνισάμενος.
τῆς δὲ νεὼς βυθισθείσης, ταραχὴ κατέσχε τὸ
ναυτικὸν τῶν βαρβάρων· πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ
προστάττοντες, οὐ ταὐτὰ δ᾽ ἕκαστος παρήγγελλε.
διὸ καὶ τοῦ πλεῖν εἰς τοὔμπροσθεν ἐπέσχον, ἀνα-
6 κωχεύοντες δ᾽ ἀνεχώρουν εἰς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν. οἱ
δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι θεωροῦντες τὴν ταραχὴν τῶν βαρβά-
ρων ἐπέπλεον τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ τὰς μὲν τοῖς
ἐμβόλοις ἔτυπτον, ὧν δὲ τοὺς ταρσοὺς παρέσυρον·

[1] The Heracleium was a shrine of Heracles on the mainland where only a narrow passage separated the island from Attica (Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 13. 1).

tinct superiority by reason both of their great number and of the experience in seamanship which they inherited from their ancestors. The Aeginetans and Megarians formed the right wing, since they were generally considered to be the best seamen after the Athenians and it was believed that they would show the best spirit, seeing that they alone of the Greeks would have no place of refuge in case any reverse should occur in the course of the battle. The centre was held by the rest of the Greek forces.

This, then, was the battle-order in which the Greeks sailed out, and they occupied the strait between Salamis and the Heracleium[1]; and the king gave order to his admiral to advance against the enemy, while he himself moved down the coast to a spot directly opposite Salamis from which he could watch the course of the battle. The Persians, as they advanced, could at the outset maintain their line, since they had plenty of space; but when they came to the narrow passage, they were compelled to withdraw some ships from the line, creating in this way much disorder. The admiral, who was leading the way before the line and was the first to begin the fighting, was slain after having acquitted himself valiantly. When his ship went down, disorder seized the barbarian fleet, for there were many now to give orders, but each man did not issue the same commands. Consequently they halted the advance, and holding back their ships, they began to withdraw to where there was plenty of room. The Athenians, observing the disorder among the barbarians, now advanced upon the enemy, and some of their ships they struck with their rams, while from others they sheared off the rows of oars; and when the men at the oars

τῆς δ' εἰρεσίας οὐχ ὑπηρετούσης, πολλαὶ τῶν Περσῶν τριήρεις πλάγιαι γινόμεναι ταῖς ἐμβολαῖς πυκνῶς κατετιτρώσκοντο. διὸ καὶ πρύμναν μὲν ἀνακρούεσθαι κατέπαυσαν, εἰς τοὐπίσω δὲ πλέουσαι προτροπάδην ἔφευγον.

19. Τῶν δὲ Φοινισσῶν καὶ Κυπρίων νεῶν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων χειρουμένων, αἱ τῶν Κιλίκων καὶ Παμφύλων, ἔτι δὲ Λυκίων νῆες, ἐχόμεναι τούτων οὖσαι, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εὐρώστως ἀντείχοντο, ὡς δ' εἶδον τὰς κρατίστας ναῦς πρὸς φυγὴν ὡρμημένας,
2 καὶ αὐταὶ τὸν κίνδυνον ἐξέλιπον. ἐπὶ δὲ θατέρου κέρατος γενομένης καρτερᾶς ναυμαχίας μέχρι μέν τινος ἰσόρροπος ἦν ὁ κίνδυνος· ὡς δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πρὸς τὴν γῆν καταδιώξαντες τοὺς Φοίνικας καὶ Κυπρίους ἐπέστρεψαν, ἐκβιασθέντες ὑπὸ τούτων ἐτράπησαν οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ πολλὰς ναῦς ἀπέβαλον.
3 οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἕλληνες τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον προτερήσαντες ἐπιφανεστάτῃ ναυμαχίᾳ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐνίκησαν· κατὰ δὲ τὸν κίνδυνον διεφθάρησαν νῆες τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων τετταράκοντα, τῶν δὲ Περσῶν ὑπὲρ τὰς διακοσίας χωρὶς τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι ληφθεισῶν.

4 Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς παρ' ἐλπίδας ἡττημένος τῶν μὲν Φοινίκων τῶν ἀρξάντων τῆς φυγῆς τοὺς αἰτιωτάτους ἀπέκτεινε, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἠπείλησεν ἐπιθήσειν τὴν προσήκουσαν τιμωρίαν. οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες φοβηθέντες τὰς ἀπειλὰς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν κατέπλευσαν, τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης ἀπῆραν
5 εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ δόξας αἴτιος γενέσθαι τῆς νίκης, ἕτερον οὐκ ἔλαττον τούτου στρατήγημα ἐπενόησε. φοβουμένων γὰρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πεζῇ διαγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς τοσαύτας μυριά-

could no longer do their work, many Persian triremes, getting sidewise to the enemy, were time and again severely damaged by the beaks of the ships. Consequently they ceased merely backing water, but turned about and fled precipitately.

19. While the Phoenician and Cyprian ships were being mastered by the Athenians, the vessels of the Cilicians and Pamphylians, and also of the Lycians, which followed them in line, at first were holding out stoutly, but when they saw the strongest ships taking to flight they likewise abandoned the fight. On the other wing the battle was stubbornly fought and for some time the struggle was evenly balanced; but when the Athenians had pursued the Phoenicians and Cyprians to the shore and then turned back, the barbarians, being forced out of line by the returning Athenians, turned about and lost many of their ships. In this manner, then, the Greeks gained the upper hand and won a most renowned naval victory over the barbarians; and in the struggle forty ships were lost by the Greeks, but more than two hundred by the Persians, not including those which were captured together with their crews.

The king, for whom the defeat was unexpected, put to death those Phoenicians who were chiefly responsible for beginning the flight, and threatened to visit upon the rest the punishment they deserved. And the Phoenicians, frightened by his threats, first put into port on the coast of Attica, and then, when night fell, set sail for Asia. But Themistocles, who was credited for having brought about the victory, devised another stratagem no less clever than the one we have described. For, since the Greeks were afraid to battle on land against so many myriads of

δας, ἐταπείνωσε πολὺ τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν πεζῶν στρατοπέδων τοιῷδέ τινι τρόπῳ. τὸν παιδαγωγὸν τῶν ἰδίων υἱῶν ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τὸν Ξέρξην δηλώσοντα, διότι μέλλουσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες πλεύσαντες ἐπὶ
6 τὸ ζεῦγμα λύειν τὴν γέφυραν. διόπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς πιστεύσας τοῖς λόγοις διὰ τὴν πιθανότητα, περίφοβος ἐγένετο μὴ τῆς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπανόδου στερηθῇ, τῶν Ἑλλήνων θαλαττοκρατούντων, ἔγνω δὲ τὴν ταχίστην διαβαίνειν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, καταλιπὼν Μαρδόνιον ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν, ὧν ὁ σύμπας ἀριθμὸς ὑπῆρχεν οὐκ ἐλάττων τῶν τετταράκοντα μυριάδων. Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν οὖν δυσὶ στρατηγήμασι χρησάμενος μεγάλων προτερημάτων αἴτιος ἐγένετο τοῖς Ἕλλησι.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πραχθέντα ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

20. Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀρκούντως διεληλυθότες περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην πραχθέντων, μεταβιβάσομεν τὴν διήγησιν ἐπὶ τὰς ἑτερογενεῖς πράξεις. Καρχηδόνιοι γὰρ συντεθειμένοι[1] πρὸς Πέρσας τοῖς αὐτοῖς καιροῖς καταπολεμῆσαι τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν Ἕλληνας, μεγάλας παρασκευὰς ἐποιήσαντο τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον χρησίμων. ὡς δ᾽ εὐτρεπῆ πάντα αὐτοῖς ὑπῆρχε, στρατηγὸν εἵλοντο Ἀμίλκωνα, τὸν μάλιστα παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς θαυμαζόμενον προκρίναντες.
2 οὗτος δὲ παραλαβὼν πεζάς τε καὶ ναυτικὰς δυνάμεις μεγάλας ἐξέπλευσεν ἐκ τῆς Καρχηδόνος, ἔχων πεζὴν μὲν δύναμιν οὐκ ἐλάττω τῶν τριάκοντα

[1] So Dindorf: συντιθέμενοι.

Persians, he greatly reduced the number of the Persian troops in the following manner: he sent to Xerxes the attendant of his own sons to inform him that the Greeks were about to sail to the bridge of boats[1] and to destroy it. Accordingly the king, believing the report because it was plausible, became fearful lest he should be cut off from the route whereby he could get back to Asia, now that the Greeks controlled the sea, and decided to cross over in all possible haste from Europe into Asia, leaving Mardonius behind in Greece with picked cavalry and infantry, the total number of whom was not less than four hundred thousand.[2] Thus Themistocles by the use of two stratagems brought about signal advantages for the Greeks.

These were the events that took place in Greece at this time.

20. Now that we have described at sufficient length the events in Europe, we shall shift our narrative to the affairs of another people. The Carthaginians, we recall,[3] had agreed with the Persians to subdue the Greeks of Sicily at the same time and had made preparations on a large scale of such materials as would be useful in carrying on a war. And when they had made everything ready, they chose for general Hamilcar, having selected him as the man who was held by them in the highest esteem. He assumed command of huge forces, both land and naval, and sailed forth from Carthage with an army of not less than three hundred thousand men and a fleet of

[1] Over the Hellespont (chap. 3. 6).
[2] We are told in chap. 28. 4 that the size of the army was "more than two hundred thousand," and in chap. 30. 1 that it was "about five hundred thousand."
[3] Cp. chap. 1.

μυριάδων, ναῦς δὲ μακρὰς πλείους τῶν διακοσίων,[1] καὶ χωρὶς πολλὰς ναῦς φορτίδας τὰς κομιζούσας τὴν ἀγοράν, ὑπὲρ τὰς τρισχιλίας. οὗτος μὲν οὖν διανύσας τὸ Λιβυκὸν πέλαγος καὶ χειμασθεὶς ἀπέβαλε τῶν σκαφῶν τὰ κομίζοντα τοὺς ἱππεῖς καὶ τὰ ἅρματα. καταπλεύσας δὲ τῆς Σικελίας εἰς τὸν ἐν τῷ Πανόρμῳ λιμένα διαπεπολεμηκέναι τὸν πόλεμον ἔφησε· πεφοβῆσθαι γὰρ μήποτε ἡ θάλαττα τοὺς
3 Σικελιώτας ἐξέληται τῶν κινδύνων. ἐπὶ δὲ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ διορθωσάμενος τὴν ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι γενομένην ναυαγίαν, προῆγε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὴν Ἱμέραν, συμπαραπλέοντος τοῦ ναυτικοῦ. ὡς δ᾿ ἦλθε πλησίον τῆς προειρημένης πόλεως, δύο παρεμβολὰς ἔθετο, τὴν μὲν τῷ πεζῷ στρατεύματι, τὴν δὲ τῇ ναυτικῇ δυνάμει. καὶ τὰς μὲν μακρὰς ναῦς ἁπάσας ἐνεώλκησε καὶ τάφρῳ βαθείᾳ καὶ τείχει ξυλίνῳ περιέλαβε, τὴν δὲ τῶν πεζῶν παρεμβολὴν ὠχύρωσεν ἀντιπρόσωπον ποιήσας τῇ πόλει καὶ παρεκτείνας ἀπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ παρατειχίσματος μέχρι τῶν
4 ὑπερκειμένων λόφων. καθόλου δὲ πᾶν τὸ πρὸς δυσμὰς μέρος καταλαβόμενος, τὴν μὲν ἀγορὰν ἅπασαν ἐκ τῶν φορτίδων νεῶν ἐξείλετο, τὰ δὲ πλοῖα ἅπαντα ταχέως ἐξαπέστειλε, προστάξας ἔκ τε τῆς Λιβύης καὶ Σαρδοῦς σῖτον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην
5 ἀγορὰν κομίζειν. αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀναλαβὼν ἧκεν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τῶν Ἱμεραίων τοὺς ἐπεξιόντας τρεψάμενος καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνελὼν κατεπλήξατο τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει. διὸ καὶ Θήρων ὁ Ἀκραγαντίνων δυνάστης, ἔχων δύναμιν ἱκανὴν καὶ παραφυλάττων τὴν Ἱμέραν, φοβηθεὶς

[1] So Dindorf: δισχιλίων.

over two hundred ships of war, not to mention many cargo ships for carrying supplies, numbering more than three thousand. Now as he was crossing the Libyan sea he encountered a storm and lost the vessels which were carrying the horses and chariots. And when he came to port in Sicily in the harbour of Panormus[1] he remarked that he had finished the war; for he had been afraid that the sea would rescue the Siceliotes from the perils of the conflict. He took three days to rest his soldiers and to repair the damage which the storm had inflicted on his ships, and then advanced together with his host against Himera, the fleet skirting the coast with him. And when he had arrived near the city we have just mentioned, he pitched two camps, the one for the army and the other for the naval force. All the warships he hauled up on land and threw about them a deep ditch and a wooden palisade, and he strengthened the camp of the army, which he placed so that it fronted the city, and prolonged so that it took in the area from the wall extending along the naval camp as far as the hills which overhung the city. Speaking generally, he took control of the entire west side, after which he unloaded all the supplies from the cargo vessels and at once sent off all these boats, ordering them to bring grain and the other supplies from Libya and Sardinia. Then, taking his best troops, he advanced to the city, and routing the Himerans who came out against him and slaying many of them, he struck the inhabitants of the city with terror. Consequently Theron, the ruler of the Acragantini, who with a considerable force was standing by to guard Himera,

[1] Palermo.

εὐθὺς ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας, ἀξιῶν τὸν Γέλωνα βοηθεῖν τὴν ταχίστην.

21. Ὁ δὲ Γέλων καὶ αὐτὸς ἡτοιμακὼς ἦν τὴν δύναμιν, πυθόμενος δὲ τὴν τῶν Ἱμεραίων ἀθυμίαν ἀνέζευξεν ἐκ τῶν Συρακουσῶν κατὰ σπουδήν, ἔχων πεζοὺς μὲν οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν πεντακισμυρίων, ἱππεῖς δὲ ὑπὲρ τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους. διανύσας δὲ ταχέως τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ πλησιάσας τῇ πόλει τῶν Ἱμεραίων, ἐποίησε θαρρεῖν τοὺς πρότερον καταπεπληγμένους τὰς τῶν Καρχηδονίων δυνάμεις.
2 αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ στρατοπεδείαν οἰκείαν βαλόμενος τῶν περὶ τὴν πόλιν τόπων, ταύτην μὲν ὠχύρωσε τάφρῳ βαθείᾳ καὶ χαρακώματι περιλαβών, τοὺς δ' ἱππεῖς ἅπαντας ἐξαπέστειλεν ἐπὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν χώραν πλανωμένους τῶν πολεμίων καὶ περὶ τὰς ὠφελείας διατρίβοντας. οὗτοι δὲ παραδόξως ἐπιφανέντες διεσπαρμένοις ἀτάκτως κατὰ τὴν χώραν, τοσούτους ἀνῆγον αἰχμαλώτους ὅσους ἕκαστος ἄγειν ἠδύνατο. εἰσαχθέντων δὲ αἰχμαλώτων εἰς τὴν πόλιν πλειόνων ἢ μυρίων, ὁ μὲν Γέλων μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς ἐτύγχανεν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἱμέραν κατ-
3 εφρόνησαν τῶν πολεμίων. ἀκόλουθα δὲ τούτοις πράττων ὁ μὲν Γέλων ἁπάσας τὰς πύλας, ἃς διὰ φόβον πρότερον ἐνῳκοδόμησαν οἱ περὶ Θήρωνα, ταύτας τοὐναντίον διὰ τὴν καταφρόνησιν ἐξῳκοδόμησε, καὶ ἄλλας προσκατεσκεύασε, δι' ὧν ἦν εὐχρηστεῖσθαι πρὸς τὰς κατεπειγούσας χρείας.

Καθόλου δὲ Γέλων στρατηγίᾳ καὶ συνέσει διαφέρων εὐθὺς ἐζήτει δι' οὗ τρόπου καταστρατηγήσας τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀκινδύνως αὐτῶν ἄρδην ἀνελεῖ τὴν δύναμιν. συνεβάλετο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ αὐτόματον πρὸς τὴν ἐπίνοιαν μεγάλα, τοιαύτης

in fear hastily sent word to Syracuse, asking Gelon to come to his aid as rapidly as possible.

21. Gelon, who had likewise held his army in readiness, on learning that the Himerans were in despair set out from Syracuse with all speed, accompanied by not less than fifty thousand foot-soldiers and over five thousand cavalry. He covered the distance swiftly, and as he drew near the city of the Himerans he inspired boldness in the hearts of those who before had been dismayed at the forces of the Carthaginians. For after pitching a camp which was appropriate to the terrain about the city, he not only fortified it with a deep ditch and a palisade but also dispatched his entire body of cavalry against such forces of the enemy as were ranging over the countryside in search of booty. And the cavalry, unexpectedly appearing to men who were scattered without military order over the countryside, took prisoner as many as each man could drive before him. And when prisoners to the number of more than ten thousand had been brought into the city, not only was Gelon accorded great approbation but the Himerans also came to hold the enemy in contempt. Following up what he had already accomplished, all the gates which Theron through fear had formerly blocked up were now, on the contrary, opened up by Gelon through his contempt of the enemy, and he even constructed additional ones which might prove serviceable to him in case of urgent need.

In a word Gelon, excelling as he did in skill as a general and in shrewdness, set about at once to discover how he might without any risk to his army outgeneral the barbarians and utterly destroy their power. And his own ingenuity was greatly aided by

4 γενομένης περιστάσεως. κρίναντος αὐτοῦ τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ναῦς ἐμπρῆσαι, καὶ τοῦ Ἀμίλκα διατρίβοντος μὲν κατὰ τὴν ναυτικὴν στρατοπεδείαν, παρασκευαζομένου δὲ θύειν τῷ Ποσειδῶνι μεγαλοπρεπῶς, ἧκον ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ἱππεῖς ἄγοντες πρὸς τὸν Γέλωνα βιβλιαφόρον ἐπιστολὰς κομίζοντα παρὰ Σελινουντίων, ἐν αἷς ἦν γεγραμμένον, ὅτι πρὸς ἣν ἔγραψεν ἡμέραν Ἀμίλκας ἀποστεῖλαι τοὺς
5 ἱππεῖς, πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐκπέμψουσιν. οὔσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης καθ' ἣν ἔμελλε συντελεῖν τὴν θυσίαν Ἀμίλκας, κατὰ ταύτην Γέλων ἀπέστειλεν ἰδίους ἱππεῖς, οἷς ἦν προστεταγμένον περιελθεῖν τοὺς πλησίον τόπους καὶ προσελαύνειν ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς τὴν ναυτικὴν στρατοπεδείαν, ὡς ὄντας Σελινουντίων συμμάχους, γενομένους δ' ἐντὸς τοῦ ξυλίνου τείχους τὸν μὲν Ἀμίλκαν ἀποκτεῖναι, τὰς δὲ ναῦς ἐμπρῆσαι. ἐξέπεμψε δὲ καὶ σκοποὺς εἰς τοὺς ὑπερκειμένους λόφους, οἷς προσέταξεν, ὅταν ἴδωσι τοὺς ἱππεῖς γενομένους ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους, ἆραι τὸ σύσσημον. αὐτὸς δ' ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ τὴν δύναμιν διατεταχὼς ἀνέμενε τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν σκοπῶν ἐσομένην δήλωσιν.

22. Τῶν δ' ἱππέων ἅμα τῇ κατὰ τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατολῇ προσιππευσάντων τῇ ναυτικῇ τῶν Καρχηδονίων στρατοπεδείᾳ, καὶ προσδεχθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν φυλάκων ὡς συμμάχων, οὗτοι μὲν εὐθὺς προσδραμόντες τῷ Ἀμίλκᾳ περὶ τὴν θυσίαν γινομένῳ, τοῦτον μὲν ἀνεῖλον, τὰς δὲ ναῦς ἐνέπρησαν· ἔπειτα τῶν σκοπῶν ἀράντων τὸ σύσσημον, ὁ Γέλων πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει συντεταγμένῃ προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὴν παρεμ-
2 βολὴν τῶν Καρχηδονίων. οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ στρατοπεδείᾳ

accident, because of the following circumstance. He had decided to set fire to the ships of the enemy; and while Hamilcar was occupied in the naval camp with the preparation of a magnificent sacrifice to Poseidon,[1] cavalrymen came from the countryside bringing to Gelon a letter-carrier who was conveying dispatches from the people of Selinus, in which was written that they would send the cavalry for that day for which Hamilcar had written to dispatch them. The day was that on which Hamilcar planned to celebrate the sacrifice. And on that day Gelon dispatched cavalry of his own, who were under orders to skirt the immediate neighbourhood and to ride up at daybreak to the naval camp, as if they were the allies from Selinus, and when they had once got inside the wooden palisade, to slay Hamilcar and set fire to the ships. He also sent scouts to the hills which overlook the city, ordering them to raise the signal as soon as they saw that the horsemen were inside the wall. For his part, at daybreak he drew up his army and awaited the sign which was to come from the scouts.

22. At sunrise the cavalrymen rode up to the naval camp of the Carthaginians, and when the guards admitted them, thinking them to be allies, they at once galloped to where Hamilcar was busied with the sacrifice, slew him, and then set fire to the ships; thereupon the scouts raised the signal and Gelon advanced with his entire army in battle order against the Carthaginian camp. The commanders of the

[1] Although Diodorus states below that Hamilcar was slain in battle, Herodotus (7. 179) says that he threw himself into the fire on which he was pouring libations and offering whole victims in order to bring victory. If this self-immolation is authentic, the god to whom he was sacrificing was in all probability the Phoenician Melcarth, the Biblical Moloch.

τῶν Φοινίκων ἡγεμόνες τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐξαγαγόντες
τὴν δύναμιν ἀπήντων τοῖς Σικελιώταις καὶ συν-
άψαντες μάχην εὐρώστως ἠγωνίζοντο· ὁμοῦ δὲ
ταῖς σάλπιγξιν ἐν ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς στρατοπέδοις
ἐσήμαινον τὸ πολεμικόν, καὶ κραυγὴ τῶν δυνά-
μεων ἐναλλὰξ ἐγίνετο, φιλοτιμουμένων ἀμφοτέρων
τῷ μεγέθει τῆς βοῆς ὑπερᾶραι τοὺς ἀντιτεταγ-
3 μένους. πολλοῦ δὲ γενομένου φόνου, καὶ τῆς μάχης
δεῦρο κἀκεῖσε ταλαντευομένης, ἄφνω τῆς κατὰ τὰς
ναῦς φλογὸς ἀρθείσης εἰς ὕψος, καί τινων ἀπαγ-
γειλάντων τὸν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ φόνον, οἱ μὲν Ἕλλη-
νες ἐθάρρησαν, καὶ ταῖς φωναῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσι τῆς
νίκης ἐπαρθέντες τοῖς φρονήμασιν[1] ἐπέκειντο θρα-
σύτερον τοῖς βαρβάροις, οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι κατα-
πλαγέντες καὶ τὴν νίκην ἀπογνόντες πρὸς φυγὴν
ἐτράπησαν.
4 Τοῦ δὲ Γέλωνος παραγγείλαντος μηδένα ζωγρεῖν,
πολὺς ἐγένετο φόνος τῶν φευγόντων, καὶ πέρας
κατεκόπησαν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν πεντεκαί-
δεκα μυριάδων. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ φυγόντες ἐπί τινα
τόπον ἐρυμνὸν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἠμύνοντο τοὺς βια-
ζομένους, ἄνυδρον δὲ κατειληφότες τόπον καὶ τῷ
δίψει πιεζόμενοι ἠναγκάσθησαν ἑαυτοὺς παραδοῦ-
5 ναι τοῖς κρατοῦσι. Γέλων δὲ ἐπιφανεστάτῃ μάχῃ
νικήσας, καὶ ταύτην κατωρθωκὼς μάλιστα διὰ τῆς
ἰδίας στρατηγίας, περιβόητον ἔσχε τὴν δόξαν οὐ
μόνον παρὰ τοῖς Σικελιώταις, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ
6 τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ
μνημονεύεται τοιούτῳ στρατηγήματι κεχρημένος,
οὐδὲ πλείονας ἐν μιᾷ παρατάξει κατακόψας τῶν
βαρβάρων οὐδὲ πλῆθος αἰχμαλώτων τοσοῦτον χει-
ρωσάμενος.

Phoenicians in the camp at the outset led out their troops to meet the Siceliotes and as the lines closed they put up a vigorous fight; at the same time in both camps they sounded with the trumpets the signal for battle and a shout arose from the two armies one after the other, each eagerly striving to outdo their adversaries in the volume of their cheering. The slaughter was great, and the battle was swaying back and forth, when suddenly the flames from the ships began to rise on high and sundry persons reported that the general had been slain; then the Greeks were emboldened and with spirits elated at the rumours and by the hope of victory they pressed with greater boldness upon the barbarians, while the Carthaginians, dismayed and despairing of victory, turned in flight.

Since Gelon had given orders to take no prisoners, there followed a great slaughter of the enemy in their flight, and in the end no less than one hundred and fifty thousand of them were slain. All who escaped the battle and fled to a strong position at first warded off the attackers, but the position they had seized had no water, and thirst compelled them to surrender to the victors. Gelon, who had won a victory in a most remarkable battle and had gained his success primarily by reason of his own skill as a general, acquired a fame that was noised abroad, not only among the Siceliotes, but among all other men as well; for memory recalls no man before him who had used a stratagem like this, nor one who had slain more barbarians in one engagement or had taken so great a multitude of prisoners.

[1] Various emendations have been suggested in the passage ταῖς φωναῖς . . . φρονήμασιν.

23. Διὸ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν συγγραφέων παραβάλλουσι ταύτην τὴν μάχην τῇ περὶ Πλαταιὰς γενομένῃ τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ στρατήγημα τὸ Γέλωνος τοῖς ἐπινοήμασι τοῖς Θεμιστοκλέους, καὶ τὸ πρωτεῖον διὰ τὰς ἀμφοτέρων ὑπερβολὰς τῆς ἀρετῆς οἱ μὲν
2 τούτοις, οἱ δὲ τοῖς ἑτέροις ἀπονέμουσι. καὶ γὰρ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν πρὸ τῆς μάχης καταπεπληγμένων τὸ πλῆθος τῶν βαρβαρικῶν δυνάμεων, οἱ κατὰ Σικελίαν πρότερον νικήσαντες ἐποίησαν τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα θαρρῆσαι, πυθομένους τὴν τοῦ Γέλωνος νίκην· καὶ τῶν τὴν ὅλην ἡγεμονίαν παρ' ἀμφοτέροις ἐσχηκότων παρὰ μὲν τοῖς Πέρσαις συνέβη[1] διαπεφευγέναι τὸν βασιλέα καὶ πολλὰς μυριάδας μετ' αὐτοῦ, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις μὴ μόνον ἀπολέσθαι τὸν στρατηγόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς μετασχόντας τοῦ πολέμου κατακοπῆναι, καὶ τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον μηδὲ ἄγγελον
3 εἰς τὴν Καρχηδόνα διασωθῆναι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν ἡγεμόνων παρὰ μὲν τοῖς Ἕλλησι, Παυσανίαν καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα, τὸν μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων πολιτῶν θανατωθῆναι διὰ πλεονεξίαν καὶ προδοσίαν, τὸν δ' ἐξ ἁπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐξελαθέντα καταφυγεῖν πρὸς τὸν ἐχθρότατον Ξέρξην καὶ παρ' ἐκείνῳ βιῶσαι μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς, Γέλωνα δὲ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἀεὶ καὶ μᾶλλον ἀποδοχῆς τυγχάνοντα παρὰ τοῖς Συρακοσίοις ἐγγηρᾶσαι τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ τελευτῆσαι θαυμαζόμενον, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἰσχῦσαι τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εὔνοιαν παρὰ

23. Because of this achievement many historians compare this battle with the one which the Greeks fought at Plataea and the stratagem of Gelon with the ingenious schemes of Themistocles, and the first place they assign, since such exceptional merit was shown by both men, some to the one and some to the other. And the reason is that, when the people of Greece on the one hand and those of Sicily on the other were struck with dismay before the conflict at the multitude of the barbarian armies, it was the prior victory of the Sicilian Greeks which gave courage to the people of Greece when they learned of Gelon's victory; and as for the men in both affairs who held the supreme command, we know that in the case of the Persians the king escaped with his life and many myriads together with him, whereas in the case of the Carthaginians not only did the general perish but also everyone who participated in the war was slain, and, as the saying is, not even a man to bear the news got back alive to Carthage. Furthermore, of the most distinguished of the leaders of the Greeks, Pausanias and Themistocles, the former was put to death by his fellow citizens because of his overweening greed of power and treason, and the latter was driven from every corner of Greece and fled for refuge to Xerxes, his bitterest enemy, on whose hospitality he lived to the end of his life; whereas Gelon after the battle received greater approbation every year at the hands of the Syracusans, grew old in the kingship, and died in the esteem of his people, and so strong was the goodwill which the citizens felt for

[1] Added by Reiske and Madvig.

τοῖς πολίταις, ὥστε καὶ τρισὶν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας τῆς ἐκείνου τὴν ἀρχὴν διαφυλαχθῆναι.

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ τούτων οἱ δικαίαν δόξαν κεκτημένοι τοὺς προσήκοντας ἐπαίνους καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν ἔχουσιν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ συνεχὲς τοῖς προειρημένοις μεταβησόμεθα.

24.[1] Συνέβη γὰρ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ τὸν Γέλωνα νικῆσαι καὶ τοὺς περὶ Θερμοπύλας μετὰ Λεωνίδου διαγωνίσασθαι πρὸς Ξέρξην, ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες τοῦ δαιμονίου περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ποιήσαντος γενέσθαι τήν τε καλλίστην νίκην καὶ τὴν ἐνδοξοτάτην
2 ἧτταν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν γενομένην μάχην πρὸς τῇ πόλει τῶν Ἱμεραίων εἴκοσι νῆες μακραὶ διέφυγον τὸν κίνδυνον, ἃς Ἀμίλκας οὐκ[2] ἐνεώλκησε πρὸς τὰς ἀναγκαίας χρείας. διὸ καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν σχεδὸν ἁπάντων τῶν μὲν ἀνῃρημένων, τῶν δὲ ἐζωγρημένων, ἔφθασαν αὗται τὸν ἀπόπλουν ποιησάμεναι. πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν φευγόντων ἀναλαβοῦσαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κατάγομοι γενόμεναι, περιέπεσον χειμῶνι καὶ πᾶσαι διεφθάρησαν· ὀλίγοι δέ τινες ἐν μικρῷ σκάφει διασωθέντες εἰς Καρχηδόνα διεσάφησαν τοῖς πολίταις, σύντομον ποιησάμενοι τὴν ἀπόφασιν, ὅτι πάντες οἱ διαβάντες εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν ἀπολώλασιν.

3 Οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι παρ' ἐλπίδας μεγάλῃ συμφορᾷ περιπεσόντες ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο κατεπλάγησαν, ὥστε τὰς νύκτας ἅπαντας διαγρυπνεῖν φυλάττοντας τὴν πόλιν, ὡς τοῦ Γέλωνος πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει παρα-
4 χρῆμα διεγνωκότος πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα. διὰ

[1] The conventional beginning of the chapter has been at ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ συνεχὲς in the preceding paragraph.

[2] οὐκ added by Rhodoman, Dindorf, Bekker, omitted by Vogel.

him that the kingship was maintained for three members of this house.[1]

However, now that these men, who enjoy a well deserved fame, have received from us also the eulogies they merit, we shall pass on to the continuation of the preceding narrative.

24. Now it so happened that Gelon won his victory on the same day that Leonidas and his soldiers were contesting against Xerxes at Thermopylae,[2] as if the deity intentionally so arranged that both the fairest victory and the most honourable defeat should take place at the same time. After the battle at the city of the Himerans twenty warships made their escape from the fight, being those which Hamilcar, to serve his routine requirements, had not hauled up on shore. Consequently, although practically all the rest of the combatants were either slain or taken prisoner, these vessels managed to set sail before they were noticed. But they picked up many fugitives, and while heavily laden on this account, they encountered a storm and were all lost. A handful only of survivors got safely to Carthage in a small boat to give their fellow citizens a statement which was brief: "All who crossed over to Sicily have perished."

The Carthaginians, who had suffered a great disaster so contrary to their hopes, were so terror-stricken that every night they kept vigil guarding the city, in the belief that Gelon with his entire force must have decided to sail forthwith against Carthage.

[1] Gelon and his two brothers Hieron and Thrasybulus; cp. chap. 67. Diodorus, as a native Sicilian, has not let the opportunity escape him of magnifying the exploits of his fellow countrymen.

[2] Herodotus (7. 166) says that the battle of Himera took place on the same day as the battle of Salamis.

δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἥ τε πόλις ἐπένθησε κοινῇ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν αἱ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν οἰκίαι κλαυθμοῦ καὶ πένθους ἐπληροῦντο. οἱ μὲν γὰρ υἱούς, οἱ δὲ ἀδελφοὺς ἐπεζήτουν, πλεῖστοι δὲ παῖδες ὀρφανοὶ πατέρων γεγονότες ἔρημοι ὠδύροντο τόν τε τῶν γεγεννηκότων θάνατον καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐρημίαν τῶν βοηθούντων. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι φοβούμενοι μὴ φθάσῃ διαβὰς εἰς Λιβύην Γέλων, εὐθὺς ἐξέπεμψαν πρὸς αὐτὸν πρεσβευτὰς αὐτοκράτορας τοὺς δυνατωτάτους εἰπεῖν τε καὶ βουλεύσασθαι.

25. Ὁ δὲ Γέλων μετὰ τὴν νίκην τούς τε ἱππεῖς τοὺς ἀνελόντας τὸν Ἀμίλκαν δωρεαῖς ἐτίμησε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς ἠνδραγαθηκότας ἀριστείοις ἐκόσμησε. τῶν δὲ λαφύρων τὰ καλλιστεύοντα παρεφύλαξε, βουλόμενος τοὺς ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσαις νεὼς κοσμῆσαι τοῖς σκύλοις· τῶν δ' ἄλλων πολλὰ μὲν ἐν Ἱμέρᾳ προσήλωσε τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις τῶν ἱερῶν, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ μετὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων διεμέρισε τοῖς συμμάχοις, κατὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν συστρατευ-
2 σάντων τὴν ἀναλογίαν ποιησάμενος. αἱ δὲ πόλεις εἰς πέδας κατέστησαν τοὺς διαιρεθέντας αἰχμαλώτους, καὶ τὰ δημόσια τῶν ἔργων διὰ τούτων ἐπεσκεύαζον. πλείστους δὲ λαβόντες Ἀκραγαντῖνοι τήν τε πόλιν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐκόσμησαν· τοσοῦτον γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς τῶν ἡλωκότων ἦν τὸ πλῆθος, ὥστε πολλοὺς τῶν ἰδιωτῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔχειν δεσμώτας πεντακοσίους. συνεβάλετο γὰρ αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν αἰχμαλώτων οὐ μόνον ὅτι πολλοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπεσταλκότες ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην, ἀλλὰ καὶ διότι γενομένης τῆς τροπῆς

And because of the multitude of the lost the city went into public mourning, while privately the homes of citizens were filled with wailing and lamentation. For some kept inquiring after sons, others after brothers, while a very large number of children who had lost their fathers, alone now in the world, grieved at the death of those who had begotten them and at their own desolation through the loss of those who could succour them. And the Carthaginians, fearing lest Gelon should forestall them in crossing over to Libya, at once dispatched to him as ambassadors plenipotentiary their ablest orators and counsellors.

25. As for Gelon, after his victory he not only honoured with gifts the horsemen who had slain Hamilcar but also decorated with rewards for prowess all others who had played the part of men. The fairest part of the booty he put to one side, since he wished to embellish the temples of Syracuse with the spoils; as for the rest of the booty, much of it he nailed to the most notable of the temples in Himera, and the rest of it, together with the captives, he divided among the allies, apportioning it in accordance with the number who had served with him. The cities put the captives allotted to them in chains and used them for building their public works. A very great number was received by the Acragantini, who embellished their city and countryside; for so great was the multitude of prisoners at their disposal that many private citizens had five hundred captives in their homes. A contributing reason for the vast number of the captives among them was not only that they had sent many soldiers into the battle, but also that, when the flight took place, many of the

πολλοὶ τῶν φευγόντων εἰς τὴν μεσόγειον ἀνεχώρη-
σαν, μάλιστα δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀκραγαντίνων, ὧν ἁπάν-
των ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀκραγαντίνων ζωγρηθέντων ἔγεμεν
3 ἡ πόλις τῶν ἑαλωκότων. πλείστων δὲ εἰς τὸ
δημόσιον ἀνενεχθέντων, οὗτοι μὲν τοὺς λίθους
ἔτεμνον, ἐξ ὧν οὐ μόνον οἱ μέγιστοι τῶν θεῶν ναοὶ
κατεσκευάσθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ὑδάτων
ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκροὰς ὑπόνομοι κατεσκευάσθησαν
τηλικοῦτοι τὸ μέγεθος, ὥστε ἀξιοθέατον εἶναι τὸ
κατασκεύασμα, καίπερ διὰ τὴν εὐτέλειαν κατα-
φρονούμενον. ἐπιστάτης δὲ γενόμενος τούτων τῶν
ἔργων ὁ προσαγορευόμενος Φαίαξ διὰ τὴν δόξαν
τοῦ κατασκευάσματος ἐποίησεν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ κληθῆ-
4 ναι τοὺς ὑπονόμους φαίακας. κατεσκεύασαν δὲ οἱ
Ἀκραγαντῖνοι καὶ κολυμβήθραν πολυτελῆ, τὴν περί-
μετρον ἔχουσαν σταδίων ἑπτά, τὸ δὲ βάθος πη-
χῶν εἴκοσι. εἰς δὲ ταύτην ἐπαγομένων ποταμίων[1]
καὶ κρηναίων ὑδάτων ἰχθυοτροφεῖον ἐγένετο, πολ-
λοὺς παρεχόμενον ἰχθῦς εἰς τροφὴν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν·
κύκνων τε πλείστων εἰς αὐτὴν καταπταμένων συν-
έβη τὴν πρόσοψιν αὐτῆς ἐπιτερπῆ γενέσθαι. ἀλλ'
αὕτη μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὕστερον χρόνοις ἀμεληθεῖσα συν-
εχώσθη καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ χρόνου κατεφθάρη,
5 τὴν δὲ χώραν ἅπασαν ἀγαθὴν οὖσαν ἀμπελόφυτον
ἐποίησαν καὶ δένδρεσι παντοίοις πεπυκνωμένην,
ὥστε λαμβάνειν ἐξ αὐτῆς μεγάλας προσόδους.

Γέλων δὲ τοὺς συμμάχους ἀπολύσας τοὺς πολίτας ἀπήγαγεν εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας, καὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς εὐημερίας ἀποδοχῆς ἐτύγχανεν οὐ μόνον παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθ' ὅλην τὴν Σικελίαν· ἐπήγετο γὰρ αἰχμαλώτων τοσοῦτο πλῆθος, ὥστε

[1] So Coraes : ποταμῶν.

fugitives turned into the interior, especially into the territory of the Acragantini, and since every man of them was taken captive by the Acragantini, the city was crammed full of the captured. Most of these were handed over to the state, and it was these men who quarried the stones of which not only the largest temples of the gods were constructed but also the underground conduits were built to lead off the waters from the city ; these are so large that their construction is well worth seeing, although it is little thought of since they were built at slight expense. The builder in charge of these works, who bore the name of Phaeax, brought it about that, because of the fame of the construction, the underground conduits got the name "Phaeaces" from him. The Acragantini also built an expensive kolumbethra,[1] seven stades in circumference and twenty cubits deep. Into it the waters from rivers and springs were conducted and it became a fish-pond, which supplied fish in great abundance to be used for food and to please the palate ; and since swans also in the greatest numbers settled down upon it, the pool came to be a delight to look upon. In later years, however, the pool became choked up through neglect and was destroyed by the long passage of time ; but the entire site, which was fertile, the inhabitants planted in vines and in trees of every description placed close together, so that they derived from it great revenues.

Gelon, after dismissing the allies, led the citizens of Syracuse back home, and because of the magnitude of his success he was enthusiastically received not only among his fellow citizens but also throughout the whole of Sicily ; for he brought with him such

[1] "Swimming-bath."

δοκεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς νήσου γεγονέναι τὴν Λιβύην ὅλην
αἰχμάλωτον. 26. εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν πρότερον ἐναν-
τιουμένων πόλεών τε καὶ δυναστῶν παρεγένοντο
πρὸς αὐτὸν πρέσβεις, ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ἠγνοημένοις αἰ-
τούμενοι συγγνώμην, εἰς δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπαγγελλό-
μενοι πᾶν ποιήσειν τὸ προσταττόμενον. ὁ δὲ πᾶσιν
ἐπιεικῶς χρησάμενος συμμαχίαν συνετίθετο, καὶ
τὴν εὐτυχίαν ἀνθρωπίνως ἔφερεν οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτων
μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πολεμιωτάτων Καρχη-
2 δονίων. παραγενομένων γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς
Καρχηδόνος τῶν ἀπεσταλμένων πρέσβεων καὶ μετὰ
δακρύων δεομένων ἀνθρωπίνως αὐτοῖς χρήσασθαι,
συνεχώρησε τὴν εἰρήνην, ἐπράξατο δὲ παρʼ αὐτῶν
τὰς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον γεγενημένας δαπάνας, ἀργυ-
ρίου δισχίλια τάλαντα, καὶ δύο ναοὺς προσέταξεν
οἰκοδομῆσαι, καθʼ οὓς ἔδει τὰς συνθήκας ἀνατε-
3 θῆναι. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι παραδόξως τῆς σωτη-
ρίας τετευχότες ταῦτά τε δώσειν προσεδέξαντο καὶ
στέφανον χρυσοῦν τῇ γυναικὶ τοῦ Γέλωνος Δαμα-
ρέτῃ προσωμολόγησαν. αὕτη γὰρ ὑπʼ αὐτῶν
ἀξιωθεῖσα συνήργησε πλεῖστον εἰς τὴν σύνθεσιν τῆς
εἰρήνης, καὶ στεφανωθεῖσα ὑπʼ αὐτῶν ἑκατὸν τα-
λάντοις χρυσίου, νόμισμα ἐξέκοψε τὸ κληθὲν ἀπʼ
ἐκείνης Δαμαρέτειον· τοῦτο δʼ εἶχε μὲν Ἀττικὰς
δραχμὰς δέκα, ἐκλήθη δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Σικελιώταις
ἀπὸ τοῦ σταθμοῦ πεντηκοντάλιτρον.
4 Ὁ δὲ Γέλων ἐχρῆτο πᾶσιν ἐπιεικῶς, μάλιστα μὲν
εἰς[1] τὸν ἴδιον τρόπον, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ σπεύδων
ἅπαντας ἔχειν ταῖς εὐνοίαις ἰδίους· παρεσκευάζετο
γὰρ πολλῇ δυνάμει πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ συμ-
5 μαχεῖν τοῖς Ἕλλησι κατὰ τῶν Περσῶν. ἤδη δʼ

[1] εἰς P, Vogel; διὰ vulg., other editors.

a multitude of captives that it looked as if the island had made the whole of Libya captive. 26. And at once there came to him ambassadors from both the cities and rulers which had formerly opposed him, asking forgiveness for their past mistakes and promising for the future to carry out his every command. With all of them he dealt equitably and concluded alliances, bearing his good fortune as men should, not toward them alone but even toward the Carthaginians, his bitterest foes. For when the ambassadors who had been dispatched from Carthage came to him and begged him with tears to treat them humanely, he granted them peace, exacting of them the expense he had incurred for the war, two thousand talents of silver, and requiring them further to build two temples in which they should place copies of the treaty. The Carthaginians, having unexpectedly gained their deliverance, not only agreed to all this but also promised to give in addition a gold crown to Damaretê, the wife of Gelon. For Damaretê at their request had contributed the greatest aid toward the conclusion of the peace, and when she had received the crown of one hundred gold talents from them, she struck a coin which was called from her a *Damareteion*. This was worth ten Attic drachmas and was called by the Sicilian Greeks, according to its weight, a *pentekontalitron*.[1]

Gelon treated all men fairly, primarily because that was his disposition, but not the least motive was that he was eager to make all men his own by acts of goodwill. For instance, he was making ready to sail to Greece with a large force and to join the Greeks in their war against the Persians. And he was already

[1] *i.e.* a "fifty-litra," the *litra* being a silver coin of Sicily.

αὐτοῦ μέλλοντος ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀναγωγήν, κατέπλευσάν τινες ἐκ Κορίνθου διασαφοῦντες νενικηκέναι τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ τοὺς Ἕλληνας περὶ Σαλαμῖνα, καὶ τὸν Ξέρξην μετὰ μέρους τῆς δυνάμεως ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀπηλλάχθαι. διὸ καὶ τῆς ὁρμῆς ἐπισχών, τὴν προθυμίαν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποδεξάμενος, συνήγαγεν ἐκκλησίαν, προστάξας ἅπαντας ἀπαντᾶν μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων· αὐτὸς δὲ οὐ μόνον τῶν ὅπλων γυμνὸς εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἦλθεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀχίτων ἐν ἱματίῳ προσελθὼν ἀπελογίσατο μὲν περὶ παντὸς τοῦ βίου καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ πρὸς
6 τοὺς Συρακοσίους· ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστῳ δὲ τῶν λεγομένων ἐπισημαινομένων τῶν ὄχλων, καὶ θαυμαζόντων μάλιστα ὅτι γυμνὸν ἑαυτὸν παρεδεδώκει τοῖς βουλομένοις αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν, τοσοῦτον ἀπεῖχε τοῦ μὴ[1] τυχεῖν τιμωρίας ὡς τύραννος, ὥστε μιᾷ φωνῇ πάντας ἀποκαλεῖν εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα καὶ βα-
7 σιλέα. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων γενόμενος ὁ Γέλων ἐκ μὲν τῶν λαφύρων κατεσκεύασε ναοὺς ἀξιολόγους Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης, χρυσοῦν δὲ τρίποδα ποιήσας ἀπὸ ταλάντων ἑκκαίδεκα ἀνέθηκεν εἰς τὸ τέμενος τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς Ἀπόλλωνι χαριστήριον. ἐπεβάλετο

[1] μὴ deleted by Dindorf, Vogel, following Hertlein; retained by Eichstädt, Bekker.

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[1] This acclaim recognized his rule as constitutional, not "tyrannical."

[2] The two chief deities of Sicily; cp. Book 5. 2.

[3] The Scholia to Pindar, *Pythian* 1, l. 152 give the inscription, which has been attributed to Simonides (frag. 106 Diehl, 170 Edmonds); the text and translation are from Edmonds:

φαμὶ Γέλων', Ἱέρωνα, Πολύζαλον, Θρασύβουλον,
παῖδας Δεινομένεος, τοὺς τρίποδας θέμεναι

on the point of setting out to sea, when certain men from Corinth put in at Syracuse and brought the news that the Greeks had won the sea-battle at Salamis and that Xerxes and a part of his armament had retreated from Europe. Consequently he stopped his preparations for departure, while welcoming the enthusiasm of the soldiers; and then he called them to an assembly, issuing orders for each man to appear fully armed. As for himself, he came to the assembly not only with no arms but not even wearing a tunic and clad only in a cloak, and stepping forward he rendered an account of his whole life and of all he had done for the Syracusans; and when the throng shouted its approval at each action he mentioned and showed especially its amazement that he had given himself unarmed into the hands of any who might wish to slay him, so far was he from being a victim of vengeance as a tyrant that they united in acclaiming him with one voice Benefactor and Saviour and King.[1] After this incident Gelon built noteworthy temples to Demeter and Corê[2] out of the spoils, and making a golden tripod[3] of sixteen talents value he set it up in the sacred precinct at Delphi as a thank-offering to Apollo. At a later time he purposed to

ἐξ ἑκατὸν λιτρᾶν καὶ πεντήκοντα ταλάντων
Δαμαρετίου χρυσοῦ, τᾶς δεκάτας δεκάταν,
βάρβαρα νικάσαντας ἔθνη· πολλὰν δὲ παρασχεῖν
σύμμαχον Ἕλλασιν χεῖρ' ἐς ἐλευθερίαν.

"I say that Gelo, Hiero, Polyzalus, and Thrasybulus, sons of Deinomenes, dedicated these tripods out of fifty talents and a hundred litres of the gold of Damaretê, being a tithe of the tithe of the booty they had of their victory over the Barbarian nations when they gave a great army to fight beside the Greeks for freedom."

δὲ ὕστερον καὶ κατὰ τὴν Αἴτνην κατασκευάζειν νεὼν Δήμητρος νεὼς ἐνδεούσης[1]· τοῦτον μὲν οὐ συνετέλεσε, μεσολαβηθεὶς τὸν βίον ὑπὸ τῆς πεπρωμένης.

8 Τῶν δὲ μελοποιῶν Πίνδαρος ἦν ἀκμάζων κατὰ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀξιολογώτατα τῶν πραχθέντων κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν σχεδὸν ταῦτ' ἐστίν.

27. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Ξανθίππου Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Κόιντον Φάβιον Σιλουανὸν καὶ Σερούιον Κορνήλιον Τρίκοστον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων ὁ μὲν τῶν Περσῶν στόλος πλὴν Φοινίκων μετὰ τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι γενομένην ναυμαχίαν ἡττημένος διέτριβε περὶ τὴν Κύμην. ἐνταῦθα δὲ παραχειμάσας, ὡς τὸ θέρος ἐνίστατο, παρέπλευσεν εἰς Σάμον παραφυλάξων τὴν Ἰωνίαν· ἦσαν δ' αἱ πᾶσαι νῆες ἐν Σάμῳ πλείους τῶν τετρακοσίων. αὗται μὲν οὖν ὡς ἀλλότρια φρονούντων τῶν Ἰώνων παρεφύλαττον τὰς πόλεις.

2 Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα μετὰ τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν, τῶν Ἀθηναίων δοκούντων αἰτίων γεγονέναι τῆς νίκης, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτῶν φρονηματιζομένων, πᾶσιν ἐγίνοντο καταφανεῖς ὡς τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀμφισβητήσοντες τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν ἡγεμονίας· διόπερ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προορώμενοι τὸ μέλλον ἐφιλοτιμοῦντο ταπεινοῦν τὸ φρόνημα τῶν Ἀθηναίων. διὸ καὶ κρίσεως προτεθείσης περὶ τῶν ἀριστείων, χάριτι κατισχύσαντες ἐποίησαν κριθῆναι πόλιν μὲν ἀριστεῦσαι τὴν Αἰγινητῶν, ἄνδρα δὲ Ἀμεινίαν Ἀθηναῖον, τὸν ἀδελφὸν

[1] νεὼς ἐνδεούσης Vogel: ἐννηὼς δὲ οὔσης. This suggested emendation of Vogel's is the most satisfactory one yet offered.

build a temple to Demeter at Aetna, since she had none in that place; but he did not complete it, his life having been cut short by fate.

Of the lyric poets Pindar was in his prime in this period. Now these are in general the most notable events which took place in this year.

27. While Xanthippus was archon in Athens, the Romans elected as consuls Quintus Fabius Silvanus and Servius Cornelius Tricostus.[1] At this time the Persian fleet, with the exception of the Phoenician contingent, after its defeat in the sea-battle of Salamis lay at Cymê. Here it passed the winter, and at the coming of summer it sailed down the coast to Samos to keep watch on Ionia; and the total number of the ships in Samos exceeded four hundred. Now they were keeping watch upon the cities of the Ionians who were suspected of hostile sentiments. 479 B.C.

Throughout Greece, after the battle of Salamis, since the Athenians were generally believed to have been responsible for the victory, and on this account were themselves exultant, it became manifest to all that they were intending to dispute with the Lacedaemonians for the leadership on the sea; consequently the Lacedaemonians, foreseeing what was going to happen, did all they could to humble the pride of the Athenians. When, therefore, a judgement was proposed to determine the prizes to be awarded for valour, through the superior favour they enjoyed they caused the decision to be that of states Aegina had won the prize, and of men Ameinias of Athens, the brother of Aeschylus the

[1] Silvanus is an error for Vibulanus and Tricostus for Cossus.

Αἰσχύλου τοῦ ποιητοῦ· οὗτος γὰρ τριηραρχῶν πρῶτος ἐμβολὴν[1] ἔδωκε τῇ ναυαρχίδι τῶν Περσῶν, καὶ ταύτην κατέδυσε καὶ τὸν ναύαρχον διέφθειρε.
3 τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων βαρέως φερόντων τὴν ἄδικον ἧτταν, οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι φοβηθέντες μήποτε Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀγανακτήσας ἐπὶ τῷ συμβεβηκότι κακὸν μέγα βουλεύσηται κατ' αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐτίμησαν αὐτὸν διπλασίοσι δωρεαῖς τῶν τὰ ἀριστεῖα εἰληφότων. δεξαμένου δὲ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους τὰς δωρεάς, ὁ δῆμος τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπέστησεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατηγίας, καὶ παρέδωκε τὴν ἀρχὴν Ξανθίππῳ τῷ Ἀρίφρονος.

28. Διαβοηθείσης δὲ τῆς τῶν Ἀθηναίων πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀλλοτριότητος, ἧκον εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας πρέσβεις παρὰ Περσῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. οἱ μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν Περσῶν ἀποσταλέντες ἔφασαν τὸν στρατηγὸν Μαρδόνιον ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐὰν τὰ Περσῶν προέλωνται, δώσειν χώραν ἣν ἂν βούλωνται τῆς Ἑλλάδος, καὶ τὰ τείχη καὶ τοὺς ναοὺς πάλιν ἀνοικοδομήσειν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐάσειν αὐτόνομον· οἱ δὲ παρὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πεμφθέντες ἠξίουν μὴ πεισθῆναι τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἀλλὰ τηρεῖν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ
2 συγγενεῖς καὶ ὁμοφώνους εὔνοιαν. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀπεκρίθησαν, ὡς οὔτε χώρα τοῖς Πέρσαις ἐστὶ τοιαύτη οὔτε χρυσὸς τοσοῦτος ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι δεξάμενοι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐγκαταλείψουσι· τοῖς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις εἶπον, ὡς αὐτοὶ μὲν ἣν πρότερον ἐποιοῦντο φροντίδα τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ

[1] So Wesseling: ἔμβολον.

poet; for Ameinias, while commanding a trireme, had been the first to ram the flagship of the Persians, sinking it and killing the admiral. And when the Athenians showed their anger at this undeserved humiliation, the Lacedaemonians, fearful lest Themistocles should be displeased at the outcome and should devise some great evil against them and the Greeks, honoured him with double the number of gifts awarded to those who had received the prize of valour. And when Themistocles accepted the gifts, the Athenians in assembly removed him from the generalship and bestowed the office upon Xanthippus the son of Ariphron.

28. When the estrangement which had arisen between the Athenians and the other Greeks became noised abroad, there came to Athens ambassadors from the Persians and from the Greeks. Now those who had been dispatched by the Persians bore word that Mardonius the general assured the Athenians that, if they should choose the cause of the Persians, he would give them their choice of any land in Greece, rebuild their walls and temples, and allow the city to live under its own laws; but those who had been sent from the Lacedaemonians begged the Athenians not to yield to the persuasions of the barbarians but to maintain their loyalty toward the Greeks, who were men of their own blood and of the same speech. And the Athenians replied to the barbarians that the Persians possessed no land rich enough nor gold in sufficient abundance which the Athenians would accept in return for abandoning the Greeks; while to the Lacedaemonians they said that as for themselves the concern which they had formerly held for the welfare of Greece they would endeavour to

μετὰ ταῦτα πειράσονται τὴν αὐτὴν διαφυλάττειν, ἐκείνους δ' ἠξίουν τὴν ταχίστην ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν μετὰ πάντων τῶν συμμάχων· πρόδηλον γὰρ εἶναι διότι Μαρδόνιος, ἠναντιωμένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων αὐτῷ, μετὰ δυνάμεως ἥξει ἐπὶ τὰς
3 Ἀθήνας. ὃ καὶ συνέβη γενέσθαι· ὁ γὰρ Μαρδόνιος ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ διατρίβων μετὰ τῶν δυνάμεων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεων ἐπειρᾶτό τινας ἀφιστάνειν, χρήματα διαπεμπόμενος τοῖς προεστηκόσι τῶν πόλεων, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πυνθανόμενος τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπόκρισιν καὶ παροξυνθείς, ἅπασαν ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὴν δύναμιν·
4 χωρὶς γὰρ τῆς δεδομένης ὑπὸ Ξέρξου στρατιᾶς πολλοὺς ἄλλους αὐτὸς Μαρδόνιος ἐκ τῆς Θρᾴκης καὶ Μακεδονίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συμμαχίδων πόλεων ἠθροίκει, πλείους τῶν εἴκοσι μυριάδων.
5 τηλικαύτης δὲ δυνάμεως προαγούσης εἰς τὴν Ἀττικήν, οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι βιβλιαφόρους ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους δεόμενοι βοηθεῖν· βραδυνόντων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐμβαλόντων εἰς τὴν Ἀττικήν, κατεπλάγησαν, καὶ πάλιν ἀναλαβόντες τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα δυνατὸν ἦν ταχέως ἀποκομίζειν, ἐξέλιπον τὴν
6 πατρίδα καὶ συνέφυγον πάλιν εἰς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα. ὁ δὲ Μαρδόνιος χαλεπῶς ἔχων πρὸς αὐτούς, τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν κατέφθειρε καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατέσκαψε καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ καταλελειμμένα παντελῶς ἐλυμήνατο.

29. Ἐπανελθόντος δὲ εἰς τὰς Θήβας[1] τοῦ Μαρδονίου μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, ἔδοξε τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Ἑλλήνων παραλαβεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, καὶ πανδημεὶ προσελθόντας[2] εἰς τὰς Πλαταιὰς διαγωνί-

maintain hereafter also, and of the Lacedaemonians they only asked that they should come with all speed to Attica together with all their allies. For it was evident, they added, that Mardonius, now that the Athenians had declared against him, would advance with his army against Athens. And this is what actually took place. For Mardonius, who was stationed in Boeotia with all his forces, at first attempted to cause certain cities in the Peloponnesus to come over to him, distributing money among their leading men, but afterwards, when he learned of the reply the Athenians had given, in his rage he led his entire force into Attica. Apart from the army Xerxes had given him he had himself gathered many other soldiers from Thrace and Macedonia and the other allied states, more than two hundred thousand men. With the advance into Attica of so large a force as this, the Athenians dispatched couriers bearing letters to the Lacedaemonians, asking their aid; and since the Lacedaemonians still loitered and the barbarians had already crossed the border of Attica, they were dismayed, and again, taking their children and wives and whatever else they were able to carry off in their haste, they left their native land and a second time fled for refuge to Salamis. And Mardonius was so angry with them that he ravaged the entire countryside, razed the city to the ground, and utterly destroyed the temples that were still standing.

29. When Mardonius and his army had returned to Thebes, the Greeks gathered in congress decreed to make common cause with the Athenians and advancing to Plataea in a body, to fight to a finish for

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[1] So Dindorf: Ἀθήνας.
[2] προσελθόντας MSS., προελθόντας Dindorf, Vogel.

σασθαι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, εὔξασθαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς, ἐὰν νικήσωσιν, ἄγειν κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐλευθέρια κοινῇ,[1] καὶ τὸν ἐλευθέριον
2 ἀγῶνα συντελεῖν ἐν ταῖς Πλαταιαῖς. συναχθέντων δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς τὸν Ἰσθμόν, ἐδόκει τοῖς πᾶσιν ὅρκον ὀμόσαι περὶ τοῦ πολέμου, τὸν στέξοντα[2] μὲν τὴν ὁμόνοιαν αὐτῶν, ἀναγκάσοντα δὲ γενναίως
3 τοὺς κινδύνους ὑπομένειν. ὁ δὲ ὅρκος ἦν τοιοῦτος· οὐ ποιήσομαι περὶ πλείονος τὸ ζῆν τῆς ἐλευθερίας, οὐδὲ καταλείψω τοὺς ἡγεμόνας οὔτε ζῶντας οὔτε ἀποθανόντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τελευτήσαντας τῶν συμμάχων πάντας θάψω, καὶ κρατήσας τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν βαρβάρων οὐδεμίαν τῶν ἀγωνισαμένων πόλεων ἀνάστατον ποιήσω, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν ἐμπρησθέντων καὶ καταβληθέντων οὐδὲν ἀνοικοδομήσω, ἀλλ' ὑπόμνημα τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις ἐάσω καὶ
4 καταλείψω τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων ἀσεβείας. τὸν δὲ ὅρκον ὀμόσαντες ἐπορεύθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Βοιωτίαν διὰ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ὑπωρείας καταντήσαντες πλησίον τῶν Ἐρυθρῶν, αὐτοῦ κατεστρατοπέδευσαν. ἡγεῖτο δὲ τῶν μὲν Ἀθηναίων Ἀριστείδης, τῶν δὲ συμπάντων Παυσανίας, ἐπίτροπος ὢν τοῦ Λεωνίδου παιδός.

30. Μαρδόνιος δὲ πυθόμενος τὴν τῶν πολεμίων δύναμιν προάγειν ἐπὶ Βοιωτίας, προῆλθεν ἐκ τῶν Θηβῶν· καὶ παραγενόμενος ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ποτα-

[1] So Reiske: *ἐλευθερίαν κοινήν.*
[2] So Rhodoman: *στέρξοντα.*

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[1] This Day of Freedom was commemorated every four years at Plataea, probably on the 27th of August. On the date see Munro in the *Camb. Anc. Hist.* 4, pp. 339 f.

liberty, and also to make a vow to the gods that, if they were victorious, the Greeks would unite in celebrating the Festival of Liberty on that day[1] and would hold the games of the Festival in Plataea. And when the Greek forces were assembled at the Isthmus, all of them agreed that they should swear an oath about the war, one that would make staunch the concord among them and would compel them nobly to endure the perils of the battle. The oath ran as follows: "I will not hold life dearer than liberty, nor will I desert the leaders, whether they be living or dead, but I will bury all the allies who have perished in the battle; and if I overcome the barbarians in the war, I will not destroy any one of the cities which have participated in the struggle[2]; nor will I rebuild any one of the sanctuaries which have been burnt or demolished, but I will let them be and leave them as a reminder to coming generations of the impiety of the barbarians." After they had sworn the oath, they marched to Boeotia through the pass of Cithaeron, and when they had descended as far as the foothills near Erythrae, they pitched camp there. The command over the Athenians was held by Aristeides, and the supreme command by Pausanias, who was the guardian[3] of the son of Leonidas.

30. When Mardonius learned that the enemy's army was advancing in the direction of Boeotia, he marched forth from Thebes, and when he arrived at the Asopus River he pitched a camp, which he

[2] Lycurgus, *Against Leocrates*, 81, gives the same oath with some slight variations, adding at this point: "and I will exact a tithe of all who have chosen the part of the barbarian." In the light of Diodorus' own statement in chap. 3. 3, the clause may well have been in the oath.
[3] And therefore regent.

μὸν ἔθετο παρεμβολήν, ἣν ὠχύρωσε τάφρῳ βαθείᾳ καὶ τείχει ξυλίνῳ περιέλαβεν.[1] ἦν δὲ ὁ σύμπας ἀριθμὸς τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων εἰς δέκα μυριάδας, τῶν δὲ
2 βαρβάρων εἰς πεντήκοντα. πρῶτοι δὲ κατήρξαντο μάχης οἱ βάρβαροι νυκτὸς ἐκχυθέντες ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἱππεῦσι πρὸς τὴν στρατοπεδείαν ἐπελάσαντες. τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων προαισθομένων καὶ συντεταγμένῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ τεθαρρηκότως ἀπαν-
3 τώντων, συνέβη καρτερὰν γενέσθαι μάχην. τέλος δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες τοὺς καθ' αὑτοὺς ταχθέντας τῶν βαρβάρων ἐτρέψαντο, μόνοι δὲ Μεγαρεῖς πρός τε τὸν ἵππαρχον καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν Περσῶν ἱππεῖς ἀνθεστῶτες, καὶ πιεζόμενοι τῇ μάχῃ, τὴν μὲν τάξιν οὐ κατέλιπον, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους πέμψαντές τινας
4 ἐξ αὑτῶν ᾔτουν κατὰ τάχος βοηθῆσαι. Ἀριστείδου δὲ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ταχέως ἀποστείλαντος τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους, συστραφέντες οὗτοι καὶ προσπεσόντες τοῖς βαρβάροις τοὺς μὲν Μεγαρεῖς ἐξείλοντο τῶν κινδύνων τῶν ἐπικειμένων, τῶν δὲ Περσῶν αὐτόν τε τὸν ἵππαρχον καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους ἀποκτείναντες τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐτρέψαντο.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἕλληνες, ὡσπερεί[2] τινι προαγῶνι λαμπρῶς προτερήσαντες, εὐέλπιδες ἐγένοντο περὶ τῆς ὁλοσχεροῦς νίκης· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς ὑπωρείας μετεστρατοπέδευσαν εἰς ἕτερον τόπον εὐ-
5 θετώτερον πρὸς τὴν ὁλοσχερῆ νίκην. ἦν γὰρ ἐκ μὲν τῶν δεξιῶν γεώλοφος ὑψηλός, ἐκ δὲ τῶν εὐωνύμων ὁ Ἀσωπὸς ποταμός· τὸν δ' ἀνὰ μέσον τόπον ἐπεῖχεν ἡ στρατοπεδεία, πεφραγμένη τῇ

[1] So Wesseling: περιέβαλεν.
[2] So Dindorf: ὥσπερ εἶπον or ὥσπερ.

strengthened by means of a deep ditch and surrounded with a wooden palisade. The total number of the Greeks approached one hundred thousand men, that of the barbarians some five hundred thousand.[1] The first to open the battle were the barbarians, who poured out upon the Greeks by night and charged with all their cavalry upon the camp. The Athenians observed them in time and with their army in battle formation boldly advanced to meet them, and a mighty battle ensued. In the end all the rest of the Greeks put to flight the barbarians who were arrayed against them; but the Megarians alone, who faced the commander of the cavalry and the best horsemen the Persians had, being hard pressed in the fighting, though they did not leave their position, sent some of their men as messengers to the Athenians and Lacedaemonians asking them to come to their aid with all speed. Aristeides quickly dispatched the picked Athenians who constituted his body-guard, and these, forming themselves into a compact body and falling on the barbarians, rescued the Megarians from the perils which threatened them, slew of the Persians both the commander of the cavalry and many others, and put the remainder to flight.

The Greeks, now that they had shown their superiority so brilliantly in a kind of dress rehearsal, were encouraged to hope for a decisive victory; and after this encounter they moved their camp from the foothills to a place which was better suited to a complete victory. For on the right was a high hill, on the left the Asopus River, and the space between was held by the camp, which was fortified by the natural im-

[1] The size of the Greek army is probably slightly exaggerated, that of the Persian greatly.

6 φύσει καὶ ταῖς τῶν τόπων ἀσφαλείαις. τοῖς μὲν οὖν Ἕλλησιν ἐμφρόνως βουλευσαμένοις πολλὰ συνεβάλετο πρὸς τὴν νίκην ἡ τῶν τόπων στενοχωρία· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἐπὶ πολὺ μῆκος παρεκτείνειν τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν Περσῶν, ὥστε ἀχρήστους εἶναι συνέβαινε τὰς πολλὰς μυριάδας τῶν βαρβάρων. διόπερ οἱ περὶ τὸν Παυσανίαν καὶ Ἀριστείδην θαρρήσαντες τοῖς τόποις προῆγον τὴν δύναμιν εἰς τὴν μάχην, καὶ συντάξαντες ἑαυτοὺς οἰκείως τῆς περιστάσεως ἦγον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους.

31. Μαρδόνιος δὲ συναναγκαζόμενος βαθεῖαν ποιῆσαι τὴν φάλαγγα, διέταξε τὴν δύναμιν ὅπως ποτ' ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ συμφέρειν, καὶ μετὰ βοῆς ἀπήντησε τοῖς Ἕλλησιν. ἔχων δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν τοὺς ἀρίστους πρῶτος ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τοὺς ἀντιτεταγμένους Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ γενναίως ἀγωνισάμενος πολλοὺς ἀνεῖλε τῶν Ἑλλήνων· ἀντιταχθέντων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων εὐρώστως, καὶ πάντα κίνδυνον ὑπομενόντων προθύμως, πολὺς ἐγίνετο φόνος τῶν
2 βαρβάρων. ἕως μὲν οὖν συνέβαινε τὸν Μαρδόνιον μετὰ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων προκινδυνεύειν, εὐψύχως ὑπέμενον τὸ δεινὸν οἱ βάρβαροι· ἐπεὶ δ' ὅ τε Μαρδόνιος ἀγωνιζόμενος ἐκθύμως ἔπεσε καὶ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων οἱ μὲν ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ κατετρώθησαν, ἀνατραπέντες
3 ταῖς ψυχαῖς πρὸς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν. ἐπικειμένων δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οἱ μὲν πλείους τῶν βαρβάρων εἰς τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος συνέφυγον, τῶν δ' ἄλλων οἱ μὲν μετὰ Μαρδονίου ταχθέντες Ἕλληνες εἰς τὰς Θήβας ἀνεχώρησαν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ὄντας πλείους τῶν τετρακισμυρίων ἀναλαβὼν Ἀρτάβαζος, ἀνὴρ παρὰ Πέρσαις ἐπαινούμενος, εἰς θάτερον μέρος

pregnability of the general terrain. Thus for the Greeks, who had laid their plans wisely, the limited space was a great aid to their victory, since the Persian battle-line could not be extended to a great length, and the result was, as the event was to show, that no use could be made of the many myriads of the barbarians. Consequently Pausanias and Aristeides, placing their confidence in the position they held, led the army out to battle, and when they had taken positions in a manner suitable to the terrain they advanced against the enemy.

31. Mardonius, having been forced to increase the depth of his line, arranged his troops in the way that he thought would be to his advantage, and raising the battle-cry, advanced to meet the Greeks. The best soldiers were about him and with these he led the way, striking at the Lacedaemonians who faced him; he fought gallantly and slew many of the Greeks. The Lacedaemonians, however, opposed him stoutly and endured every peril of battle willingly, and so there was a great slaughter of the barbarians. Now so long as Mardonius and his picked soldiers continued to bear the brunt of the fighting, the barbarians sustained the shock of battle with good spirit; but when Mardonius fell, fighting bravely, and of the picked troops some were slain and others wounded, their spirits were dashed and they began to flee. When the Greeks pressed hard upon them, the larger part of the barbarians fled for safety within the palisade, but as for the rest of the army, the Greeks serving with Mardonius withdrew to Thebes, and the remainder, over four hundred thousand in number, were taken in hand by Artabazus, a man of repute among the Persians,

ἔφυγε, καὶ σύντονον[1] τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ποιησάμενος προῆγεν ἐπὶ τῆς Φωκίδος.

32. Τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον ἐν τῇ φυγῇ τῶν βαρβάρων σχισθέντων, ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πλῆθος διεμερίσθη· Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν γὰρ καὶ Πλαταιεῖς καὶ Θεσπιεῖς τοὺς ἐπὶ Θηβῶν ὁρμήσαντας ἐδίωξαν, Κορίνθιοι δὲ καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ Φλιάσιοι καί τινες ἕτεροι τοῖς μετὰ Ἀρταβάζου φεύγουσιν ἐπηκολούθησαν, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν τοὺς εἰς τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος καταφυγόντας διώξαντες
2 ἐπόρθησαν προθύμως. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι δεξάμενοι τοὺς φεύγοντας καὶ προσαναλαβόντες ἐπέθεντο τοῖς διώκουσιν Ἀθηναίοις· γενομένης δὲ πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν καρτερᾶς μάχης, καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων λαμπρῶς ἀγωνισαμένων, ἔπεσον μὲν οὐκ ὀλίγοι παρ' ἀμφοτέροις, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον βιασθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων συνέφυγον πάλιν εἰς τὰς Θήβας.

3 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀποχωρήσαντες, μετὰ τούτων ἐτειχομάχουν πρὸς τοὺς καταφυγόντας εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν τῶν Περσῶν· μεγάλου δὲ ἀγῶνος ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων γενομένου, καὶ τῶν μὲν βαρβάρων ἐκ τόπων ὠχυρωμένων καλῶς ἀγωνισαμένων, τῶν δ' Ἑλλήνων βίαν προσαγόντων τοῖς ξυλίνοις τείχεσι, πολλοὶ μὲν παραβόλως ἀγωνιζόμενοι κατετιτρώσκοντο, οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν βελῶν
4 διαφθειρόμενοι τὸν θάνατον εὐψύχως ὑπέμενον. οὐ μήν γε τὴν ὁρμὴν καὶ βίαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔστεγεν οὔτε τὸ κατεσκευασμένον τεῖχος οὔτε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν βαρβάρων, ἀλλ' ἅπαν τὸ ἀντιτεταγμένον ὑπείκειν ἠναγκάζετο· ἡμιλλῶντο γὰρ πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡγούμενοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ

who fled in the opposite direction, and withdrew by forced marches toward Phocis.

32. Since the barbarians were thus separated in their flight, so the body of the Greeks was similarly divided; for the Athenians and Plataeans and Thespiaeans pursued after those who had set out for Thebes, and the Corinthians and Sicyonians and the Phliasians and certain others followed after the forces which were retreating with Artabazus; and the Lacedaemonians together with the rest pursued the soldiers who had taken refuge within the palisade and trounced them spiritedly. The Thebans received the fugitives, added them to their forces, and then set upon the pursuing Athenians; a sharp battle took place before the walls, the Thebans fighting brilliantly, and not a few fell on both sides, but at last this body was overcome by the Athenians and took refuge again within Thebes.

After this the Athenians withdrew to the aid of the Lacedaemonians and joined with them in assaulting the walls against those Persians who had taken refuge within the camp; both sides put up a vigorous contest, the barbarians fighting bravely from the fortified positions they held and the Greeks storming the wooden walls, and many were wounded as they fought desperately, while not a few were also slain by the multitude of missiles and met death with stout hearts. Nevertheless the powerful onset of the Greeks could be withstood neither by the wall the barbarians had erected nor by their great numbers, but resistance of every kind was forced to give way; for it was a case of rivalry between the foremost peoples of Greece, the Lacedaemonians and the

[1] So Wesseling: σύντομον.

Ἀθηναῖοι, μεμετεωρισμένοι μὲν ταῖς προγεγενημέναις νίκαις, πεποιθότες δὲ ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ἀρεταῖς.
5 τέλος δὲ κατὰ κράτος ἁλόντες οἱ βάρβαροι, δεόμενοι ζωγρεῖν οὐδενὸς ἐτύγχανον ἐλέου. ὁ γὰρ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων Παυσανίας ὁρῶν τοῖς πλήθεσιν ὑπερέχοντας τοὺς βαρβάρους, εὐλαβεῖτο μή τι παράλογον γένηται, πολλαπλασίων ὄντων τῶν βαρβάρων· διὸ καὶ παραγγείλαντος αὐτοῦ μηδένα ζωγρεῖν, ταχὺ πλῆθος ἄπιστον νεκρῶν ἐγένετο. τέλος δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑπὲρ τὰς δέκα μυριάδας τῶν βαρβάρων κατακόψαντες μόγις ἐπαύσαντο τοῦ κτείνειν τοὺς πολεμίους.

33. Τοιοῦτον δὲ πέρας τῆς μάχης λαβούσης, οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες τοὺς πεσόντας ἔθαψαν, ὄντας πλείους τῶν μυρίων. διελόμενοι δὲ τὰ λάφυρα κατὰ τὸν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀριθμὸν τὴν περὶ τῶν ἀριστείων κρίσιν ἐποιήσαντο, καὶ Ἀριστείδου κελεύσαντος[1] ἔκριναν ἀριστεῦσαι πόλιν μὲν Σπάρτην, ἄνδρα δὲ Παυσανίαν τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον. Ἀρτάβαζος δ' ἔχων τῶν φευγόντων Περσῶν εἰς τετρακισμυρίους, καὶ διὰ τῆς Φωκίδος εἰς Μακεδονίαν πορευθείς, ὀξυτάταις πορείαις ἐχρῆτο, καὶ ἐσώθη μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν.

2 Οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων δεκάτην ἐξελόμενοι κατεσκεύασαν χρυσοῦν τρίποδα, καὶ ἀνέθηκαν

[1] So Post (cp. Plut. *Arist.* 20. 1); χάριτι τοῦ κελεύσαντος Reiske; χάριτι δουλεύσαντες Rhodoman, Vogel: χαριτίδου κελεύσαντος.

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[1] The gold tripod proper was carried off by the Phocians in the Sacred War. But the bronze pillar, eighteen feet high, which supported it and was composed of three intertwined serpents, was removed by the emperor Constantine and is still to be seen in the Atmeidan (formerly Hippodrome) in Istanbul. It carries the names of thirty-one Greek states

Athenians, who were buoyed up by reason of their former victories and supported by confidence in their valour. In the end the barbarians were overpowered, and they found no mercy even though they pled to be taken prisoner. For the Greek general, Pausanias, observing how superior the barbarians were in number, took pains to prevent anything due to miscalculation from happening, the barbarians being many times more numerous than the Greeks; consequently he had issued orders to take no man prisoner, and soon there was an incredible number of dead. And in the end, when the Greeks had slaughtered more than one hundred thousand of the barbarians, they reluctantly ceased slaying the enemy.

33. After the battle had ended in the way we have described, the Greeks buried their dead, of which there were more than ten thousand. And after dividing up the booty according to the number of the soldiers, they made their decision as to the award for valour, and in response to the urging of Aristeides they bestowed the prize for cities upon Sparta and for men upon Pausanias the Lacedaemonian. Meanwhile Artabazus with as many as four hundred thousand of the fleeing Persians made his way through Phocis into Macedonia, availing himself of the quickest routes, and got back safely together with the soldiers into Asia.

The Greeks, taking a tenth part of the spoils, made a gold tripod [1] and set it up in Delphi as a thank-

which took part in the Persian Wars, and the opening words of the inscription as well as the statement of Thucydides (1. 132) show that it was a memorial for the entire war, and not for the battle of Plataea alone, as the context of Diodorus would suggest and as the geographer Pausanias (5. 23. 1; 10. 13. 9) specifically states.

εἰς Δελφοὺς χαριστήριον τῷ θεῷ, ἐπιγράψαντες ἐλεγεῖον τόδε,

Ἑλλάδος εὐρυχόρου σωτῆρες τόνδ' ἀνέθηκαν,
δουλοσύνης στυγερᾶς ῥυσάμενοι πόλιας.

ἐπέγραψαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐν Θερμοπύλαις ἀποθανοῦσι Λακεδαιμονίοις κοινῇ μὲν ἅπασι τόδε,

μυριάσιν ποτὲ τῇδε διηκοσίαις[1] ἐμάχοντο
ἐκ Πελοποννήσου χιλιάδες τέτορες,

ἰδίᾳ δὲ αὐτοῖς τόδε,

ὦ ξεῖν', ἄγγειλον[1] Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι τῇδε
κείμεθα τοῖς κείνων πειθόμενοι νομίμοις.[1]

3 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμος ἐκόσμησε τοὺς τάφους τῶν ἐν τῷ Περσικῷ πολέμῳ τελευτησάντων, καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν ἐπιτάφιον τότε πρῶτον ἐποίησε, καὶ νόμον ἔθηκε λέγειν ἐγκώμια τοῖς δημοσίᾳ θαπτομένοις τοὺς προαιρεθέντας τῶν ῥητόρων.

4 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Παυσανίας μὲν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας, καὶ τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς πρὸς Πέρσας[2] συμμαχίας ἐξῄτει πρὸς τὴν τιμωρίαν· τῶν δὲ Θηβαίων κατα-

[1] τριακοσίαις, ἀγγέλλειν, and ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι Herod. 7. 228.
[2] So Dindorf: προτέρας.

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[1] This inscription is found only in Diodorus, and is dubiously attributed to Simonides (frag. 102 Diehl; 168 Edmonds).
[2] Herodotus (7. 228) states that these two inscriptions were set up at Thermopylae, as indeed they were. They are com-

offering to the God, inscribing on it the following couplet:

This is the gift the saviours of far-flung Hellas upraised here,
Having delivered their states from loathsome slavery's bonds.[1]

Inscriptions were also set up for the Lacedaemonians who died at Thermopylae; for the whole body of them as follows:

Here on a time there strove with two hundred myriads of foemen
Soldiers in number but four thousand from Pelops' fair Isle;

and for the Spartans alone as follows:

To Lacedaemon's folk, O stranger, carry the message,
How we lie here in this place, faithful and true to their laws.[2]

In like manner the citizen-body of the Athenians embellished the tombs of those who had perished in the Persian War, held the Funeral Games then for the first time, and passed a law that laudatory addresses upon men who were buried at the public expense should be delivered by speakers selected for each occasion.

After the events we have described Pausanias the general advanced with the army against Thebes and demanded for punishment the men who had been responsible for the alliance of Thebes with the Persians. And the Thebans were so overawed by

monly ascribed to Simonides (frags. 91, 92 Diehl; 118, 119 Edmonds, both of whom prefer the text of Herodotus).

πεπληγμένων τό τε πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὰς ἀρετάς, οἱ μὲν αἰτιώτατοι τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀποστάσεως ἑκουσίως ὑπομείναντες τὴν παράδοσιν ἐκολάσθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Παυσανίου καὶ πάντες ἀνῃρέθησαν.

34. Ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἰωνίαν τοῖς Ἕλλησι μεγάλη μάχη πρὸς Πέρσας κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν τῇ περὶ τὰς Πλαταιὰς συντελεσθείσῃ, περὶ ἧς μέλλοντες γράφειν ἀναληψόμεθα τὴν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς
2 διήγησιν. Λεωτυχίδης γὰρ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος καὶ Ξάνθιππος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἡγούμενοι τῆς ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ τὸν στόλον ἐκ τῆς περὶ Σαλαμῖνα ναυμαχίας ἀθροίσαντες εἰς Αἴγιναν, ἐν ταύτῃ διατρίψαντες ἡμέρας τινὰς ἔπλευσαν εἰς Δῆλον, ἔχοντες τριήρεις διακοσίας καὶ πεντήκοντα. ἐνταῦθα δ' αὐτῶν ὁρμούντων ἧκον ἐκ Σάμου πρέσβεις ἀξιοῦντες ἐλευθερῶσαι τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἕλλη-
3 νας. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Λεωτυχίδην συνεδρεύσαντες μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων καὶ διακούσαντες τῶν Σαμίων ἔκριναν ἐλευθεροῦν τὰς πόλεις, καὶ κατὰ τάχος ἐξέπλευσαν ἐκ Δήλου. οἱ δὲ τῶν Περσῶν ναύαρχοι διατρίβοντες ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ, πυθόμενοι τὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπίπλουν, ἀνήχθησαν ἐκ τῆς Σάμου πάσαις ταῖς ναυσί, καὶ κατάραντες εἰς Μυκάλην τῆς Ἰωνίας τὰς μὲν ναῦς ἐνεώλκησαν, ὁρῶντες οὐκ ἀξιοχρέους οὔσας ναυμαχεῖν, καὶ ξυλίνῳ τείχει καὶ τάφρῳ βαθείᾳ περιέλαβον αὐτάς· οὐδὲν δὲ ἧττον καὶ δυνάμεις πεζὰς μετεπέμποντο ἐκ τῶν Σάρδεων καὶ τῶν σύνεγγυς πόλεων, καὶ συνήγαγον τοὺς ἅπαντας εἰς δέκα μυριάδας· ἐποιοῦντο δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων τῶν εἰς πόλεμον χρησίμων παρασκευάς, νομίζοντες καὶ τοὺς Ἴωνας ἀποστήσεσθαι πρὸς

the multitude of their enemy and by their prowess in battle, that the men most responsible for their desertion from the Greeks agreed of their own accord to being handed over, and they all received at the hands of Pausanias the punishment of death.

34. Also in Ionia the Greeks fought a great battle with the Persians on the same day as that which took place in Plataea, and since we propose to describe it, we shall take up the account of it from the beginning. Leotychides the Lacedaemonian and Xanthippus[1] the Athenian, the commanders of the naval force, after the battle of Salamis collected the fleet in Aegina, and after spending some days there they sailed to Delos with two hundred and fifty triremes. And while they lay at anchor there, ambassadors came to them from Samos asking them to liberate the Greeks of Asia. Leotychides took counsel with the commanders, and after they had heard all the Samians had to say, they decided to undertake to liberate the cities and speedily sailed forth from Delos. When the Persian admirals, who were then at Samos, learned that the Greeks were sailing against them, they withdrew from Samos with all their ships, and putting into port at Mycalê in Ionia they hauled up their ships, since they saw that the vessels were unequal to offering battle, and threw about them a wooden palisade and a deep ditch; despite these defences they also summoned land forces from Sardis and the neighbouring cities and gathered in all about one hundred thousand men. Furthermore, they made ready all the other equipment that is useful in war, believing that the Ionians also would go over to the

[1] The father of Pericles.

4 τοὺς πολεμίους. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Λεωτυχίδην παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ κεκοσμημένῳ[1] προσπλεύσαντες τοῖς ἐν τῇ Μυκάλῃ βαρβάροις, ναῦν προαπέστειλαν ἔχουσαν κήρυκα τὸν μεγαλοφωνότατον τῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. τῷ δὲ προσετέτακτο προσπλεῦσαι τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ κηρύξαι διότι οἱ Ἕλληνες νενικηκότες[2] τοὺς Πέρσας πάρεισι νῦν ἐλευθερώσοντες τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἑλληνίδας
5 πόλεις. τοῦτο δ' ἐποίησαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Λεωτυχίδην νομίζοντες τοὺς συστρατεύοντας τοῖς βαρβάροις Ἕλληνας ἀποστήσειν Περσῶν καὶ ταραχὴν ἔσεσθαι πολλὴν ἐν τῇ τῶν βαρβάρων στρατοπεδείᾳ· ὅπερ καὶ συνέβη γενέσθαι. τοῦ γὰρ κήρυκος προσπλεύσαντος ταῖς νενεωλκημέναις ναυσὶ καὶ κηρύξαντος τὰ προστεταγμένα, συνέβη τοὺς μὲν Πέρσας ἀπιστῆσαι τοῖς Ἕλλησι, τοὺς δ' Ἕλληνας ἀλλήλοις συντίθεσθαι περὶ ἀποστάσεως.

35. Οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες κατασκεψάμενοι τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἀπεβίβασαν τὴν δύναμιν. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ παρασκευαζομένων αὐτῶν τὰ πρὸς τὴν παράταξιν, προσέπεσε φήμη ὅτι νενικήκασιν οἱ Ἕλληνες τοὺς
2 Πέρσας κατὰ τὰς Πλαταιάς. διόπερ οἱ μὲν περὶ Λεωτυχίδην ἀθροίσαντες ἐκκλησίαν, τὰ πλήθη παρεκάλεσαν εἰς τὴν μάχην, τά τε ἄλλα προφερόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς νίκην τραγῳδοῦντες,[3] δι' ἣν ὑπελάμβανον θρασυτέρους ποιήσειν τοὺς μέλλοντας ἀγωνίζεσθαι. θαυμαστὸν δὲ ἐγένετο τὸ[4] ἀποτέλεσμα· κατὰ γὰρ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν ἐφάνησαν αἱ παρατάξεις γεγενημέναι, ἥ τε πρὸς τῇ Μυκάλῃ συντελεσθεῖσα καὶ ἡ κατὰ τὰς Πλαταιὰς γενομένη.

[1] So Dindorf: κεκοσμημένοι.
[2] ἐν Πλαταιαῖς after νενικηκότες deleted by Madvig.

enemy. Leotychides advanced with all the fleet ready for action against the barbarians at Mycalê, dispatching in advance a ship carrying a herald who had the strongest voice of anyone in the fleet. This man had been ordered to sail up to the enemy and to announce in a loud voice, "The Greeks, having conquered the Persians, are now come to liberate the Greek cities of Asia." This Leotychides did in the belief that the Greeks in the army of the barbarians would revolt from the Persians and that great confusion would arise in the camp of the barbarians; and that is what actually happened. For as soon as the herald approached the ships which had been hauled up on the shore, and made the announcement as he had been ordered, it came about that the Persians lost confidence in the Greeks and that the Greeks began to agree among themselves about revolting.

35. After the Greeks under Leotychides had found out how the Greeks in the Persians' camp felt, they disembarked their forces. And on the following day, while they were making preparation for battle, the rumour came to them of the victory which the Greeks had won over the Persians at Plataea. At this news Leotychides, after calling an assembly, exhorted his troops to the battle, and among the other considerations which he presented to them he announced in histrionic manner the victory of Plataea, in the belief that he would make more confident those who were about to fight. And marvellous indeed was the outcome. For it has become known that it was on the same day that the two battles took place, the one which was fought at Mycalê and the other which

[3] So Reiske: παρῳδοῦντες.
[4] τὸ added by Eichstädt.

3 διόπερ ἔδοξαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Λεωτυχίδην οὔπω μὲν πεπυσμένοι περὶ τῆς νίκης, ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν δὲ πλάττοντες τὴν εὐημερίαν, στρατηγήματος ἕνεκεν τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι· τὸ γὰρ μέγεθος τοῦ διαστήματος
4 ἤλεγχεν ἀδύνατον οὖσαν[1] τὴν προσαγγελίαν. οἱ δὲ τῶν Περσῶν ἡγεμόνες, ἀπίστως ἔχοντες τοῖς Ἕλλησι, τούτους μὲν ἀφώπλισαν, τὰ δὲ ὅπλα τοῖς ἑαυτῶν φίλοις παρέδωκαν· παρακαλέσαντες δὲ τὰ πλήθη, καὶ τὸν Ξέρξην αὐτὸν μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως εἰπόντες ἥξειν βοηθόν, ἐποίησαν ἅπαντας εὐθαρσεῖς πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον.

36. Ἀμφοτέρων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκταξάντων τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ προσαγόντων[2] ἐπ' ἀλλήλους, οἱ μὲν Πέρσαι τοὺς πολεμίους ὁρῶντες ὀλίγους ὄντας κατεφρόνησαν αὐτῶν καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς κραυγῆς ἐπεφέροντο·
2 τῶν δὲ Σαμίων καὶ Μιλησίων πανδημεὶ προελομένων βοηθῆσαι τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ μετ' ἀλλήλων κοινῇ προαγόντων κατὰ σπουδήν, ὡς προϊόντες εἰς ὄψιν ἦλθον τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, οἱ μὲν Ἴωνες ἐνόμιζον εὐθαρσεστέρους ἔσεσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας,
3 ἀπέβη δὲ τοὐναντίον. δόξαντες γὰρ οἱ περὶ τὸν Λεωτυχίδην τὸν Ξέρξην ἐκ τῶν Σάρδεων ἐπιέναι μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, ἐφοβήθησαν, καὶ ταραχῆς γενομένης ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ διεφέροντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔφασαν τὴν ταχίστην δεῖν εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἀπιέναι, οἱ δὲ μένειν καὶ τεθαρρηκότως παρατάξασθαι. ἔτι δ' αὐτοῖς τεθορυβημένοις ἐπεφάνησαν οἱ Πέρσαι διεσκευασμένοι καταπληκτικῶς
4 καὶ μετὰ βοῆς ἐπιφερόμενοι. οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες οὐδε-

[1] ἀδύνατον οὖσαν Cobet: ἀδυνατοῦσαν.

occurred at Plataea. It would seem, therefore, that Leotychides had not yet learned of the victory, but that he was deliberately inventing the military success and did so as a stratagem; for the great distance separating the places proved that the transmission of the message was impossible. But the leaders of the Persians, placing no confidence in the Greeks of their own forces, took away their arms and gave them to men who were friendly to them; and then they called all the soldiers together and told them that Xerxes was coming in person to their aid with a great armament, inspiring them thereby with courage to face the peril of the battle.

36. When both sides had drawn out their troops in battle-order and were advancing against each other, the Persians, observing how few the enemy were, disdained them and bore down on them with great shouting. Now the Samians and Milesians had decided unanimously beforehand to support the Greek cause and were pushing forward all together at the double; and as their advance brought them in sight of the Greek army, although the Ionians thought that the Greeks would be encouraged, the result was the very opposite. For the troops of Leotychides, thinking that Xerxes was come from Sardis with his army and advancing upon them, were filled with fear, and confusion and division among themselves arose in the army, some saying that they should take to their ships with all speed and depart and others that they should remain and boldly hold their lines. While they were still in disorder, the Persians came in sight, equipped in a manner to inspire terror and bearing down on them with shouting. The Greeks, having

[2] Vogel preferred προαγόντων.

μίαν ἀνοχὴν ἔχοντες τοῦ βουλεύσασθαι, συνηναγκά-
σθησαν ὑπομεῖναι τὴν ἔφοδον τῶν βαρβάρων.
Καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀμφοτέρων ἀγωνιζομένων
εὐρώστως ἰσόρροπος ἦν ἡ μάχη καὶ συχνοὶ παρ'
ἀμφοτέροις ἔπιπτον· τῶν δὲ Σαμίων καὶ τῶν
Μιλησίων ἐπιφανέντων οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες ἐπερρώσθη-
σαν, οἱ βάρβαροι δὲ καταπλαγέντες πρὸς[1] φυγὴν
5 ὥρμησαν. πολλοῦ δὲ γενομένου φόνου, οἱ μὲν περὶ
τὸν Λεωτυχίδην καὶ Ξάνθιππον ἐπικείμενοι τοῖς
ἡττημένοις κατεδίωξαν τοὺς βαρβάρους μέχρι τῆς
παρεμβολῆς, συνεπελάβοντο δὲ τῆς μάχης ἤδη
κεκριμένης Αἰολεῖς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλοὶ τῶν κατὰ
τὴν Ἀσίαν· δεινὴ γάρ τις ἐνέπεσεν ἐπιθυμία ταῖς
6 κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν πόλεσι τῆς ἐλευθερίας. διόπερ
σχεδὸν ἅπαντες οὔθ' ὁμήρων οὔτε ὅρκων ἐποιή-
σαντο φροντίδα, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων
ἀπέκτειναν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ τοὺς βαρβάρους. τοῦτον δὲ
τὸν τρόπον ἡττηθέντων τῶν Περσῶν, ἀνῃρέθησαν
αὐτῶν πλείους τῶν τετρακισμυρίων· τῶν δὲ δια-
σωθέντων οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν στρατοπεδείαν διέφυγον, οἱ
7 δὲ εἰς Σάρδεις ἀπεχώρησαν. Ξέρξης δὲ πυθόμενος
τήν τε περὶ τὰς Πλαταιὰς ἧτταν καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ
Μυκάλῃ τροπὴν τῶν ἰδίων, μέρος μὲν τῆς δυνάμεως
ἀπέλιπεν ἐν Σάρδεσιν ὅπως διαπολεμῇ πρὸς τοὺς
Ἕλληνας, αὐτὸς δὲ τεθορυβημένος μετὰ τῆς λοιπῆς
στρατιᾶς προῆγεν, ἐπ' Ἐκβατάνων ποιούμενος τὴν
πορείαν.

37. Οἱ δὲ περὶ Λεωτυχίδην καὶ Ξάνθιππον ἀποπλεύσαντες εἰς Σάμον τοὺς μὲν Ἴωνας καὶ τοὺς Αἰολεῖς συμμάχους ἐποιήσαντο, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα

[1] τὴν after πρὸς deleted by Vogel.

no respite for deliberation, were compelled to withstand the attack of the barbarians.

At the outset both sides fought stoutly and the battle was indecisive, great numbers falling in both armies; but when the Samians and Milesians put in their appearance,[1] the Greeks plucked up courage, whereas the barbarians were filled with terror and broke in flight. A great slaughter followed, as the troops of Leotychides and Xanthippus pressed upon the beaten barbarians and pursued them as far as the camp; and Aeolians participated in the battle, after the issue had already been decided, as well as many other peoples of Asia, since an overwhelming desire for their liberty entered the hearts of the inhabitants of the cities of Asia. Therefore practically all of them gave no thought either to hostages[2] or to oaths, but they joined with the other Greeks in slaying the barbarians in their flight. This was the manner in which the Persians suffered defeat, and there were slain of them more than forty thousand, while of the survivors some found refuge in the camp and others withdrew to Sardis. And when Xerxes learned of both the defeat in Plataea and the rout of his own troops in Mycalê, he left a portion of his armament in Sardis to carry on the war against the Greeks, while he himself, in bewilderment, set out with the rest of his army on the way to Ecbatana.

37. Leotychides and Xanthippus now sailed back to Samos and made allies of the Ionians and Aeolians,

[1] Ephorus, whom Diodorus was following here, was an Ionian and so exaggerates the part played by the Samians and Milesians in the victory.

[2] Held by the Persians as sureties of the faithfulness of the Greek contingents to their oaths of loyalty to the Persians.

ἔπειθον αὐτοὺς ἐκλιπόντας τὴν Ἀσίαν εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην μετοικισθῆναι. ἐπηγγέλλοντο δὲ τὰ μηδίσαντα τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀναστήσαντες δώσειν ἐκείνοις
2 τὴν χώραν· καθόλου γὰρ μένοντας αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους ὁμόρους ἕξειν, πολὺ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν ὑπερέχοντας, τοὺς δὲ συμμάχους ὄντας διαποντίους μὴ δυνήσεσθαι τὰς βοηθείας εὐκαίρους αὐτοῖς ποιήσασθαι. οἱ δὲ Αἰολεῖς καὶ οἱ Ἴωνες ἀκούσαντες τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν ἔγνωσαν πείθεσθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησι, καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο πλεῖν μετ' αὐτῶν
3 εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι μετανοήσαντες εἰς τοὐναντίον πάλιν μένειν συνεβούλευον, λέγοντες ὅτι κἂν μηδεὶς αὐτοῖς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων βοηθῇ, μόνοι Ἀθηναῖοι συγγενεῖς ὄντες βοηθήσουσιν· ὑπελάμβανον δὲ ὅτι κοινῇ κατοικισθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ Ἴωνες οὐκέτι μητρόπολιν ἡγήσονται τὰς Ἀθήνας. διόπερ συνέβη μετανοῆσαι τοὺς Ἴωνας καὶ κρῖναι μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας.

4 Τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων συνέβη τὴν δύναμιν τῶν Ἑλλήνων σχισθῆναι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἀποπλεῦσαι, τοὺς δὲ Ἀθηναίους μετὰ τῶν Ἰώνων καὶ τῶν νησιωτῶν ἐπὶ Σηστὸν
5 ἀπᾶραι. Ξάνθιππος δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς εὐθὺς ἐκ κατάπλου προσβολὰς τῇ πόλει ποιησάμενος εἷλε Σηστόν, καὶ φρουρὰν ἐγκαταστήσας τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους ἀπέλυσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀνέκαμψεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας.

6 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Μηδικὸς ὀνομασθεὶς πόλεμος γενόμενος διετὴς τοῦτο ἔσχε τὸ πέρας. τῶν δὲ συγ-

[1] The Greeks dwelling on the islands of the Aegean Sea.

and then they endeavoured to induce them to abandon Asia and to move their homes to Europe. They promised to expel the peoples who had espoused the cause of the Medes and to give their lands to them; for as a general thing, they explained, if they remained in Asia, they would always have the enemy on their borders, an enemy far superior in military strength, while their allies, who lived across the sea, would be unable to render them any timely assistance. When the Aeolians and Ionians had heard these promises, they resolved to take the advice of the Greeks and set about preparing to sail with them to Europe. But the Athenians changed to the opposite opinion and advised them to stay where they were, saying that even if no other Greeks should come to their aid, the Athenians, as their kinsmen, would do so independently. They reasoned that, if the Ionians were given new homes by the Greeks acting in common they would no longer look upon Athens as their mother-city. It was for this reason that the Ionians changed their minds and decided to remain in Asia.

After these events it came to pass that the armament of the Greeks was divided, the Lacedaemonians sailing back to Laconia and the Athenians together with the Ionians and the islanders [1] weighing anchor for Sestus. And Xanthippus the general, as soon as he reached that port, launched assaults upon Sestus and took the city, and after establishing a garrison in it he dismissed the allies and himself with his fellow citizens returned to Athens.

Now the Median War, as it has been called, after lasting two years, came to the end which we have described. And of the historians, Herodotus, begin-

γραφέων Ἡρόδοτος ἀρξάμενος πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν χρόνων γέγραφε κοινὰς σχεδόν τι τὰς τῆς οἰκουμένης πράξεις ἐν βίβλοις ἐννέα, καταστρέφει δὲ τὴν σύνταξιν εἰς τὴν περὶ Μυκάλην μάχην τοῖς Ἕλλησι πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας καὶ Σηστοῦ πολιορκίαν.

7 Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς τοὺς Οὐολούσκους πολεμήσαντες καὶ μάχῃ νικήσαντες πολλοὺς ἀνεῖλον. Σπόριος δὲ Κάσσιος, ὁ κατὰ τὸν προηγούμενον ἐνιαυτὸν ὑπατεύσας, δόξας ἐπιθέσθαι τυραννίδι καὶ καταγνωσθείς, ἀνῃρέθη.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράχθη κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν.

38. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Τιμοσθένους ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὴν ὑπατικὴν ἀρχὴν διεδέξαντο Καίσων Φάβιος καὶ Λεύκιος Αἰμίλιος Μάμερκος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν πολλή τις εἰρήνη κατεῖχε τὴν νῆσον, τῶν μὲν Καρχηδονίων εἰς τέλος τεταπεινωμένων, τοῦ δὲ Γέλωνος ἐπιεικῶς προεστηκότος τῶν Σικελιωτῶν καὶ πολλὴν εὐνομίαν τε καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐπιτηδείων εὐπορίαν παρεχομένου ταῖς
2 πόλεσι. τῶν δὲ Συρακοσίων τὰς μὲν πολυτελεῖς ἐκφορὰς νόμῳ καταλελυκότων καὶ τὰς εἰωθυίας δαπάνας εἰς τοὺς τελευτῶντας γίνεσθαι περιῃρηκότων, ἐγγεγραμμένων δὲ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τῶν παντελῶς λιτῶν ἐνταφίων,[1] ὁ βασιλεὺς Γέλων βουλόμενος τὴν τοῦ δήμου σπουδὴν ἐν ἅπασι διαφυλάττειν, τὸν περὶ τῆς ταφῆς νόμον ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ
3 βέβαιον ἐτήρησεν· ὑπὸ γὰρ ἀρρωστίας συνεχόμενος καὶ τὸ ζῆν ἀπελπίσας, τὴν μὲν βασιλείαν παρέδωκεν Ἱέρωνι τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, περὶ δὲ τῆς

[1] καὶ τῶν P, αἱ τῶν AL, εἴργεσθαι other MSS.; παντελῶς PA, παντελῶς τὰς τῶν other MSS.; ἠμεληκότων P or σπουδὰς other MSS. after ἐνταφίων. λιτῶν added by Capps. The text is very corrupt and marginal glosses have slipped into the MSS.

ning with the period prior to the Trojan War, has written in nine books a general history of practically all the events which occurred in the inhabited world, and brings his narrative to an end with the battle of the Greeks against the Persians at Mycalê and the siege of Sestus.

In Italy the Romans waged a war against the Volscians, and conquering them in battle slew many of them. And Spurius Cassius, who had been consul the preceding year,[1] because he was believed to be aiming at a tyranny and was found guilty, was put to death.

These, then, were the events of this year.

38. When Timosthenes was archon at Athens, in 478 B.C.
Rome Caeso Fabius and Lucius Aemilius Mamercus succeeded to the consulship. During this year throughout Sicily an almost complete peace pervaded the island, the Carthaginians having finally been humbled, and Gelon had established a beneficent rule over the Sicilian Greeks and was providing their cities with a high degree of orderly government and an abundance of every necessity of life. And since the Syracusans had by law put an end to costly funerals and done away with the expense which customarily had been incurred for the dead, and there had been specified in the law even the altogether inexpensive obsequies, King Gelon, desiring to foster and maintain the people's interest in all matters, kept the law regarding burials intact in his own case; for when he fell ill and had given up hope of life, he handed over the kingship to Hieron, his eldest brother, and respecting

[1] 480 B.C.

ἑαυτοῦ ταφῆς ἐνετείλατο διαστελλόμενος ἀκριβῶς τηρῆσαι τὸ νόμιμον. διὸ καὶ τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐκφορὰν κατὰ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν αὐτοῦ συνετέλε-
4 σεν ὁ διαδεξάμενος τὴν βασιλείαν. ἐτάφη δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα κατὰ τὸν ἀγρὸν τῆς γυναικὸς ἐν ταῖς καλουμέναις Ἐννέα τύρσεσιν, οὔσαις τῷ βάρει τῶν ἔργων θαυμασταῖς. ὁ δὲ ὄχλος ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἅπας συνηκολούθησεν, ἀπέχοντος τοῦ τόπου στα-
5 δίους διακοσίους. ἐνταῦθα δ' αὐτοῦ ταφέντος ὁ μὲν δῆμος τάφον ἀξιόλογον ἐπιστήσας ἡρωικαῖς τιμαῖς ἐτίμησε τὸν Γέλωνα, ὕστερον δὲ τὸ μὲν μνῆμα ἀνεῖλον Καρχηδόνιοι στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ Συρακούσας, τὰς δὲ τύρσεις Ἀγαθοκλῆς κατέβαλε διὰ τὸν φθόνον. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὔτε Καρχηδόνιοι διὰ τὴν ἔχθραν οὔτε Ἀγαθοκλῆς διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν κακίαν οὔτε ἄλλος οὐδεὶς[1] ἠδυνήθη τοῦ Γέλωνος ἀφελέσθαι τὴν
6 δόξαν· ἡ γὰρ τῆς ἱστορίας δικαία μαρτυρία τετήρηκε τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ φήμην, κηρύττουσα διαπρυσίως εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα. δίκαιον γὰρ ἅμα καὶ συμφέρον ἐστὶ τῷ κοινῷ βίῳ διὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν τοὺς μὲν πονηροὺς τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις γεγενημένων βλασφημεῖσθαι, τοὺς δὲ εὐεργετικοὺς τυγχάνειν ἀθανάτου μνήμης· οὕτω γὰρ μάλιστα συμβήσεται πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν κοινὴν εὐεργεσίαν προτρέπεσθαι τῶν μεταγενεστέρων.

7 Γέλων μὲν οὖν ἑπταετῆ χρόνον ἐβασίλευσεν, Ἱέρων δ' ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ διαδεξάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐβασίλευσε τῶν Συρακοσίων ἔτη ἕνδεκα καὶ μῆνας ὀκτώ.

39. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν μετὰ

[1] οὐδεὶς *Const. Exc.* 4, p. 308 : οὐδὲ εἷς.

his own burial he gave orders that the prescriptions of the law should be strictly observed. Consequently at his death his funeral was held by his successor to the throne just as he had ordered it. His body was buried on the estate of his wife in the Nine Towers, as it is called, which is a marvel to men by reason of its strong construction. And the entire populace accompanied his body from the city, although the place was two hundred stades distant. Here he was buried, and the people erected a noteworthy tomb and accorded Gelon the honours which belong to heroes; but at a later time the monument was destroyed by the Carthaginians in the course of a campaign against Syracuse, while the towers were thrown down by Agathocles[1] out of envy. Nevertheless, neither the Carthaginians out of enmity nor Agathocles out of his native baseness, nor any other man has ever been able to deprive Gelon of his glory; for the just witness of history has guarded his fair fame, heralding it abroad with piercing voice for evermore. It is indeed both just and beneficial to society that history should heap imprecations upon base men who have held positions of authority, but should accord immortal remembrance to those who have been beneficent rulers; for in this way especially, it will be found, many men of later generations will be impelled to work for the general good of mankind.

Now Gelon reigned for seven years, and Hieron his brother succeeded him in the rule and reigned over the Syracusans eleven years and eight months.[2]

39. In Greece the Athenians after the victory at

[1] Tyrant of Syracuse, 317–289 B.C. Diodorus (Books 19, 21, 22) is the chief source on his career.
[2] 485–478 and 478–467 B.C. respectively.

τὴν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς νίκην μετεκόμισαν ἐκ Τροιζῆνος καὶ Σαλαμῖνος τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπεχείρησαν τειχίζειν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν ἀνηκόντων ἐπι-
2 μέλειαν ἐποιοῦντο. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' ὁρῶντες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐν ταῖς ναυτικαῖς δυνάμεσι περιπεποιημένους[1] δόξαν μεγάλην, ὑπώπτευσαν αὐτῶν τὴν αὔξησιν, καὶ διέγνωσαν κωλύειν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους
3 ἀνοικοδομεῖν τὰ τείχη. εὐθὺς οὖν πρέσβεις ἐξέπεμψαν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας τοὺς λόγῳ μὲν συμβουλεύσοντας κατὰ τὸ παρὸν μὴ τειχίζειν τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸ μὴ συμφέρειν κοινῇ τοῖς Ἕλλησι· τὸν γὰρ Ξέρξην, εἰ πάλιν παραγενηθείη μετὰ μειζόνων δυνάμεων, ἕξειν ἑτοίμους πόλεις τετειχισμένας ἐκτὸς Πελοποννήσου, ἐξ ὧν ὁρμώμενον ῥᾳδίως καταπολεμήσειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας. οὐ πειθομένων δ' αὐτῶν, οἱ πρέσβεις προσιόντες τοῖς οἰκοδομοῦσι προσέταττον ἀφίστασθαι τῶν ἔργων τὴν ταχίστην.
4 Ἀπορουμένων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὅ τι χρὴ πράττειν, Θεμιστοκλῆς, ἀποδοχῆς τότε παρ' αὐτοῖς τυγχάνων τῆς μεγίστης, συνεβούλευεν ἔχειν ἡσυχίαν· ἐὰν γὰρ βιάζωνται, ῥᾳδίως τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους μετὰ τῶν Πελοποννησίων στρατεύσαντας κωλύσειν
5 αὐτοὺς τειχίζειν τὴν πόλιν. ἐν ἀπορρήτοις δὲ τῇ βουλῇ προεῖπεν, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν μετά τινων ἄλλων πορεύσεται πρεσβευτὴς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα διδάξων τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους περὶ τοῦ τειχισμοῦ, τοῖς δὲ ἄρχουσι παρήγγειλεν, ὅταν ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος ἔλθωσι πρέσβεις εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, παρακατέχειν

[1] So Wesseling: πεποιημένους.

Plataea brought their children and wives back to Athens from Troezen and Salamis, and at once set to work fortifying the city and were giving their attention to every other means which made for its safety. But the Lacedaemonians, observing that the Athenians had gained for themselves great glory by the actions in which their navy had been engaged, looked with suspicion upon their growing power and decided to prevent the Athenians from rebuilding their walls. They at once, therefore, dispatched ambassadors to Athens who would ostensibly advise them not at present to fortify the city, as not being of advantage to the general interests of the Greeks; for, they pointed out, if Xerxes should return with larger armaments than before he would have walled cities ready to hand outside the Peloponnesus which he would use as bases and thus easily subjugate the Greeks. And when no attention was paid to their advice, the ambassadors approached the men who were building the wall and ordered them to stop work immediately.

While the Athenians were at a loss what they should do, Themistocles, who enjoyed at that time the highest favour among them, advised them to take no action; for he warned them that if they had recourse to force, the Lacedaemonians could easily march up against them together with the Peloponnesians and prevent them from fortifying the city. But he told the Council in confidence that he and certain others would go as ambassadors to Lacedaemon to explain the matter of the wall to the Lacedaemonians; and he instructed the magistrates, when ambassadors should come from Lacedaemon to Athens, to detain them until he himself should

αὐτούς, ἕως ἂν αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος ἀνακάμψῃ, ἐν τοσούτῳ δὲ πανδημεὶ τειχίζειν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ κρατήσειν αὐτοὺς ἀπεφαίνετο τῆς προθέσεως.

40. Ὑπακουσάντων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα πρέσβεις προῆγον εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι μετὰ μεγάλης σπουδῆς ᾠκοδόμουν τὰ τείχη, οὔτ' οἰκίας οὔτε τάφου φειδόμενοι. συνελαμβάνοντο δὲ τῶν ἔργων οἵ τε παῖδες καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ καθόλου πᾶς ξένος καὶ δοῦλος,
2 οὐδενὸς ἀπολειπομένου τῆς προθυμίας. παραδόξως δὲ τῶν ἔργων ἀνυομένων διά τε τὰς πολυχειρίας καὶ τὰς τῶν ἁπάντων προθυμίας, ὁ μὲν Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀνακληθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ ἐπιτιμηθεὶς περὶ τῆς τειχοποιίας ἠρνήσατο τὴν οἰκοδομίαν, καὶ παρεκάλεσε τοὺς ἄρχοντας μὴ πιστεύειν κεναῖς φήμαις, ἀλλ' ἀποστέλλειν πρέσβεις ἀξιοπίστους εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας· διὰ γὰρ τούτων εἴσεσθαι τἀληθές· καὶ τούτων ἐγγυητὴν ἑαυτὸν παρεδίδου καὶ τοὺς μεθ'
3 ἑαυτοῦ συμπρεσβεύοντας. πεισθέντες δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς μὲν περὶ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα παρεφύλαττον, εἰς δὲ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπέστειλαν τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους κατασκεψομένους περὶ ὧν ἦν χρεία πολυπραγμονῆσαι. τοῦ δὲ χρόνου διεξελθόντος, οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ τεῖχος ἔφθασαν ἐφ' ἱκανὸν κατεσκευακότες, τοὺς δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις ἐλθόντας εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ μετ' ἀνατάσεων[1] καὶ ἀπειλῶν ἐπιτιμῶντας παρέδωκαν εἰς φυλακήν, φήσαντες τότε ἀφήσειν, ὅταν κἀκεῖνοι τοὺς περὶ

[1] So Dindorf: *μετὰ στάσεων.*

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[1] *i.e.* in their search for building material.

return from Lacedaemon, and in the meantime to put the whole population to work fortifying the city. In this manner, he declared to them, they would achieve their purpose.

40. After the Athenians had accepted the plan of Themistocles, he and the ambassadors set out for Sparta, and the Athenians began with great enthusiasm to build the walls, sparing neither houses nor tombs.[1] And everyone joined in the task, both children and women and, in a word, every alien and slave, no one of them showing any lack of zeal. And when the work was being accomplished with amazing speed both because of the many workmen and the enthusiasm of them all, Themistocles was summoned by the chief magistrates[2] and upbraided for the building of the walls; but he denied that there was any construction, and urged the magistrates not to believe empty rumours but to dispatch to Athens trustworthy ambassadors, from whom, he assured them, they would learn the truth; and as surety for them he offered himself and the ambassadors who had accompanied him. The Lacedaemonians, following the advice of Themistocles, put him and his companions under guard and dispatched to Athens their most important men who were to spy out whatever matter should arouse their curiosity. But time had passed, and the Athenians had already got so far along with the construction that, when the Lacedaemonian ambassadors arrived in Athens and with denunciations and threats of violence upbraided them, the Athenians took them into custody, saying that they would release them only when the Lacedaemonians in turn should release the ambassadors who

[2] In Sparta; presumably the ephors.

4 Θεμιστοκλέα πρέσβεις ἀπολύσωσι. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ καταστρατηγηθέντες οἱ Λάκωνες ἠναγκάσθησαν ἀπολῦσαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις ἵνα τοὺς ἰδίους ἀπολάβωσιν. ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς τοιούτῳ στρατηγήματι τειχίσας τὴν πατρίδα συντόμως καὶ ἀκινδύνως, μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς ἔτυχε παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις.

5 Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Ῥωμαίοις[1] πρὸς Αἰκολανοὺς καὶ τοὺς τὸ Τοῦσκλον κατοικοῦντας συνέστη πόλεμος, καὶ πρὸς μὲν Αἰκολανοὺς μάχην συνάψαντες ἐνίκησαν καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πολεμίων ἀνεῖλον, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὸ Τοῦσκλον ἐξεπολιόρκησαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Αἰκολανῶν πόλιν ἐχειρώσαντο.

41. Τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυσίου χρόνου διεληλυθότος Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἦν ἄρχων Ἀδείμαντος, ἐν Ῥώμῃ δὲ κατεστάθησαν ὕπατοι Μάρκος Φάβιος Οὐιβλανὸς[2] καὶ Λεύκιος Οὐαλέριος Πόπλιος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Θεμιστοκλῆς διὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν καὶ ἀγχίνοιαν ἀποδοχῆς ἔτυχεν οὐ μόνον παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις, ἀλλὰ
2 καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησι. διὸ καὶ μετεωριζόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ δόξῃ πολὺ μείζοσιν ἄλλαις ἐπιβολαῖς ἐχρήσατο πρὸς αὔξησιν ἡγεμονίας ἀνηκούσαις τῇ πατρίδι. τοῦ γὰρ καλουμένου Πειραιῶς οὐκ ὄντος λιμένος κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους, ἀλλ' ἐπινείῳ χρωμένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων τῷ προσαγορευομένῳ Φαληρικῷ, μικρῷ παντελῶς ὄντι, ἐπενόησε τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατασκευάζειν λιμένα, μικρᾶς μὲν προσδεόμενον κατασκευῆς, δυνάμενον δὲ γενέσθαι λιμένα κάλλιστον καὶ μέγιστον τῶν κατὰ τὴν
3 Ἑλλάδα. ἤλπιζεν οὖν τούτου προσγενομένου τοῖς

[1] So Vogel: Ῥωμαίους.
[2] So the fasti: σιλανὸς or σιλβανός.

accompanied Themistocles. In this manner the Laconians were outgeneralled and compelled to release the Athenian ambassadors in order to get back their own. And Themistocles, having by means of so clever a stratagem fortified his native land speedily and without danger, enjoyed high favour among his fellow citizens.

While the events we have described were taking place, a war broke out between the Romans and the Aequi and the inhabitants of Tusculum, and meeting the Aequi in battle the Romans overcame them and slew many of the enemy, and then they took Tusculum after a siege and occupied the city of the Aequi.

41. At the close of the year the archon in Athens 477 B.C.
was Adeimantus, and in Rome the consuls elected were Marcus Fabius Vibulanus and Lucius Valerius Publius. At this time Themistocles, because of his skill as a general and his sagacity, was held in esteem not only by his fellow citizens but by all Greeks. He was, therefore, elated over his fame and had recourse to many other far more ambitious undertakings which would serve to increase the dominant position of his native state. Thus the Peiraeus, as it is called, was not at that time a harbour, but the Athenians were using as their ship-yard the bay called Phaleric, which was quite small; and so Themistocles conceived the plan of making the Peiraeus into a harbour, since it would require only a small amount of construction and could be made into a harbour, the best and largest in Greece. He also hoped that when this improvement had been added to what the Athenians

Ἀθηναίοις δυνήσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἀντιποιήσασθαι
τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν ἡγεμονίας· τριήρεις γὰρ τότε
πλείστας ἐκέκτηντο, καὶ διὰ τὴν συνέχειαν τῶν
ναυμαχιῶν ἐμπειρίαν καὶ δόξαν μεγάλην τῶν ναυ-
4 τικῶν ἀγώνων περιεπεποίηντο. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις
τοὺς μὲν Ἴωνας ὑπελάμβανε διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν
ἰδίους ἕξειν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν
Ἕλληνας δι' ἐκείνους ἐλευθερώσειν, ἀποκλινεῖν τε
ταῖς εὐνοίαις πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διὰ τὴν εὐεργε-
σίαν, τοὺς δὲ νησιώτας ἅπαντας καταπεπληγμένους
τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως ἑτοίμως ταχθή-
σεσθαι μετὰ τῶν δυναμένων καὶ βλάπτειν καὶ
5 ὠφελεῖν τὰ μέγιστα. τοὺς γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίους
ἑώρα περὶ μὲν τὰς πεζὰς δυνάμεις εὖ κατεσκευα-
σμένους, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀγῶνας
ἀφυεστάτους.

42. Ταῦτ' οὖν διαλογισάμενος ἔκρινε φανερῶς
μὲν τὴν ἐπιβολὴν μὴ λέγειν, ἀκριβῶς γινώσκων
τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους κωλύσοντας, ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ δὲ
διελέχθη[1] τοῖς πολίταις ὅτι μεγάλων πραγμάτων καὶ
συμφερόντων τῇ πόλει βούλεται γενέσθαι σύμβου-
λός τε καὶ εἰσηγητής, ταῦτα δὲ φανερῶς μὲν λέγειν
μὴ συμφέρειν, δι' ὀλίγων δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐπιτελεῖν
προσήκειν· διόπερ ἠξίου τὸν δῆμον δύο ἄνδρας
προχειρισάμενον οἷς ἂν μάλιστα πιστεύσῃ, τούτοις
2 ἐπιτρέπειν περὶ τοῦ πράγματος. πεισθέντος δὲ τοῦ
πλήθους, ὁ δῆμος εἵλετο δύο ἄνδρας, Ἀριστείδην
καὶ Ξάνθιππον, οὐ μόνον κατ' ἀρετὴν προκρίνας

[1] So Vogel: διαλεχθείς.

possessed, the city would be able to compete for the hegemony at sea; for the Athenians possessed at that time the largest number of triremes and through an unbroken succession of battles at sea which the city had waged had gained experience and renown in naval conflicts. Furthermore, he reasoned that they would have the Ionians on their side because they were kinsmen, and that with their aid the Athenians would liberate the other Greeks of Asia, who would then turn in goodwill to the Athenians because of this benefaction, and that all the Greeks of the islands, being immensely impressed by the magnitude of their naval strength, would readily align themselves with the people which had the power both to inflict the greatest injury and to bestow the greatest advantages. For he saw that the Lacedaemonians, though excellently equipped so far as their land forces were concerned, had no natural talent for fighting on ships.

42. Now as Themistocles pondered these matters, he decided that he should not make public announcement of his plan, knowing with certainty that the Lacedaemonians would endeavour to stop it; and so he announced to the citizens in Assembly that he wished both to advise upon and to introduce important matters which were also to the advantage of the city. But what these matters were, he added, it was not in the public interest to state openly, but it was fitting that a few men should be charged with putting them into effect; and he therefore asked the people to select two men in whom they had the greatest confidence and to entrust to them to pass upon the matter in question. The people acceded to his advice, and the Assembly chose two men, Aristeides and Xanthippus, selecting them not only

αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα τούτους
ὁρῶν ἁμιλλωμένους περὶ δόξης καὶ πρωτείων, καὶ
3 διὰ τοῦτο ἀλλοτρίως ἔχοντας πρὸς αὐτόν. οὗτοι
δὲ κατ' ἰδίαν ἀκούσαντες τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους τὴν
ἐπιβολήν, ἐδήλωσαν τῷ δήμῳ διότι καὶ μεγάλα
καὶ συμφέροντα τῇ πόλει καὶ δυνατὰ καθέστηκε τὰ
λεγόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους.

4 Τοῦ δὲ δήμου θαυμάσαντος ἅμα τὸν ἄνδρα
καὶ ὑποπτεύσαντος μήποτε τυραννίδα τινὰ κατα-
σκευασόμενος[1] ἑαυτῷ τηλικαύταις καὶ τοιαύταις
ἐπιβολαῖς ἐγχειρῇ, φανερῶς αὐτὸν ἐκέλευον ἀπο-
φαίνεσθαι τὰ δεδογμένα. ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἔφησε μὴ
συμφέρειν τῷ δήμῳ φανερῶς δηλοῦσθαι περὶ τῶν
5 ἐπινοηθέντων. πολλῷ δὲ μᾶλλον θαυμάσαντος τοῦ
δήμου τὴν δεινότητα καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνην τἀνδρός,
ἐκέλευον ἐν ἀπορρήτοις εἰπεῖν τῇ βουλῇ τὰ δεδογ-
μένα· κἂν αὕτη[2] κρίνῃ τὰ δυνατὰ λέγειν καὶ
συμφέροντα, τότε ὡς ἂν συμβουλεύσῃ πρὸς τὸ
6 τέλος ἄξειν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιβολήν. διόπερ τῆς
βουλῆς πυθομένης τὰ[3] κατὰ μέρος, καὶ κρινάσης
λέγειν αὐτὸν τὰ συμφέροντα τῇ πόλει καὶ δυνατά,
τὸ λοιπὸν ἤδη συγχωρήσαντος τοῦ δήμου μετὰ τῆς
βουλῆς ἔλαβε τὴν ἐξουσίαν πράττειν ὅ τι βούλεται.
ἕκαστος δ' ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐχωρίζετο θαυμά-
ζων μὲν τὴν ἀρετὴν τἀνδρός, μετέωρος δ' ὢν καὶ
καραδοκῶν τὸ τέλος τῆς ἐπιβολῆς.

43. Ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς λαβὼν τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πράττειν, καὶ πᾶσαν ὑπουργίαν ἔχων ἑτοίμην τοῖς ἐγχειρουμένοις, πάλιν ἐπενόησε καταστρατηγῆσαι

[1] So Eichstädt: κατασκευασάμενος.
[2] So Eichstädt: αὐτῇ.
[3] τὰ added by Dindorf.

because of their upright character, but also because they saw that these men were in active rivalry with Themistocles for glory and leadership and were therefore opposed to him. These men heard privately from Themistocles about his plan and then declared to the Assembly that what Themistocles had disclosed to them was of great importance, was to the advantage of the state, and was feasible.

The people admired the man and at the same time harboured suspicions of him, lest it should be with the purpose of preparing some sort of tyranny for himself that he was embarking upon plans of such magnitude and importance, and they urged him to declare openly what he had decided upon. But he made the same reply, that it was not to the interests of the state that there should be a public disclosure of his intentions. Thereupon the people were far the more amazed at the man's shrewdness and greatness of mind, and they urged him to disclose his ideas secretly to the Council, assuring him that, if that body decided that what he said was feasible and advantageous, then they would advise it to carry his plan to completion. Consequently, when the Council learned all the details and decided that what he said was for the advantage of the state and was feasible, the people, without more ado, agreed with the Council, and Themistocles received authority to do whatever he wished. And every man departed from the Assembly in admiration of the high character of the man, being also elated in spirit and expectant of the outcome of the plan.

43. Themistocles, having received authority to proceed and enjoying every assistance ready at hand for his undertakings, again conceived a way to deceive

τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους· ᾔδει γὰρ ἀκριβῶς ὅτι καθάπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως τειχισμοῦ διεκώλυσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐπὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς τοῦ λιμένος ἐγχειρήσουσι διακόπτειν τῶν
2 Ἀθηναίων τὰς ἐπιβολάς. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτῷ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους πρέσβεις ἀποστεῖλαι τοὺς διδάξοντας συμφέρειν τοῖς κοινοῖς τῆς Ἑλλάδος πράγμασιν ἔχειν ἀξιόχρεων λιμένα πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Περσῶν ἐσομένην στρατείαν. διὰ δὲ τούτου τοῦ τρόπου τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας ἀμβλυτέρους ποιήσας πρὸς τὸ κωλύειν, αὐτὸς εἴχετο τῶν ἔργων, καὶ τῶν πάντων συμφιλοτιμουμένων ταχέως συνέβη γενέσθαι καὶ παραδόξως κατασκευασθῆναι τὸν λιμένα.
3 ἔπεισε δὲ τὸν δῆμον καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν πρὸς ταῖς ὑπαρχούσαις ναυσὶν εἴκοσι τριήρεις προσκατασκευάζειν, καὶ τοὺς μετοίκους καὶ τοὺς τεχνίτας ἀτελεῖς ποιῆσαι, ὅπως ὄχλος πολὺς πανταχόθεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν κατέλθῃ καὶ πλείους τέχνας κατασκευάσωσιν εὐχερῶς· ἀμφότερα γὰρ ταῦτα χρησιμώτατα πρὸς τὰς τῶν ναυτικῶν δυνάμεων κατασκευὰς ὑπάρχειν ἔκρινεν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ ταῦτα ἠσχολοῦντο.

44. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ Παυσανίαν τὸν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς στρατηγήσαντα καταστήσαντες ναύαρχον προσέταξαν ἐλευθεροῦν τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις, ὅσαι βαρβαρικαῖς φυλακαῖς διέμενον ἔτι φρουρούμεναι.
2 οὗτος δὲ πεντήκοντα μὲν τριήρεις ἐκ Πελοποννήσου λαβών, τριάκοντα δὲ παρ' Ἀθηναίων μεταπεμψάμενος, ὧν Ἀριστείδης ἡγεῖτο, πρῶτον μὲν εἰς τὴν Κύπρον ἔπλευσε καὶ τῶν πόλεων τὰς ἔτι φρουρὰς

the Lacedaemonians by a stratagem; for he was fully assured that just as the Lacedaemonians had interfered with the building of the wall about the city, they would in the same manner endeavour to obstruct the plans of the Athenians in the case of the making of the harbour. Accordingly he decided to dispatch ambassadors to the Lacedaemonians to show them how it was to the advantage of the common interests of Greece that it should possess a first-rate harbour in view of the expedition which was to be expected on the part of the Persians. When he had in this way somewhat dulled the impulse of the Spartans to interfere, he devoted himself to that work, and since everybody enthusiastically co-operated it was speedily done and the harbour was finished before anyone expected. And Themistocles persuaded the people each year to construct and add twenty triremes to the fleet they already possessed, and also to remove the tax upon metics and artisans, in order that great crowds of people might stream into the city from every quarter and that the Athenians might easily procure labour for a greater number of crafts. Both these policies he considered to be most useful in building up the city's naval forces. The Athenians, therefore, were busy over the matters we have described.

44. The Lacedaemonians, having appointed Pausanias, who had held the command at Plataea, admiral of their fleet, instructed him to liberate the Greek cities which were still held by barbarian garrisons. And taking fifty triremes from the Peloponnesus and summoning from the Athenians thirty commanded by Aristeides, he first of all sailed to Cyprus and liberated those cities which still had

3 ἐχούσας Περσικὰς ἠλευθέρωσε, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πλεύσας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον Βυζάντιον μὲν ὑπὸ Περσῶν κρατούμενον ἐχειρώσατο, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων οὓς μὲν ἀνελών,[1] οὓς δ' ἐκβαλὼν ἠλευθέρωσε τὴν πόλιν, πολλοὺς δ' ἐν αὐτῇ Περσῶν ἀξιολόγους ζωγρήσας ἄνδρας παρέδωκεν εἰς φυλακὴν Γογγύλῳ τῷ Ἐρετριεῖ, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ πρὸς τιμωρίαν τηρήσοντι, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ διασώσοντι πρὸς Ξέρξην· συνετέθειτο γὰρ δι' ἀπορρήτων φιλίαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ Ξέρξου
4 γαμεῖν ἔμελλεν, ἵνα προδῷ τοὺς Ἕλληνας. ἦν δ' ὁ ταῦτα πραττόμενος Ἀρτάβαζος στρατηγός, καὶ χρημάτων πλῆθος ἐχορήγει λάθρᾳ τῷ Παυσανίᾳ πρὸς τὸ διὰ τούτων φθείρειν τοὺς εὐθέτους τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

Ἐγένετο δὲ καταφανὴς καὶ τιμωρίας ἔτυχε
5 τοιῷδέ τινι τρόπῳ. ζηλώσαντος γὰρ[2] αὐτοῦ τὴν Περσικὴν τρυφὴν καὶ τυραννικῶς προσφερομένου τοῖς ὑποτεταγμένοις, χαλεπῶς ἔφερον ἅπαντες, μάλιστα δὲ οἱ τεταγμένοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπί τινος
6 ἡγεμονίας. διόπερ τῶν κατὰ τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ κατὰ ἔθνη καὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἀλλήλοις ὁμιλούντων καὶ τοῦ Παυσανίου τῆς βαρύτητος καταλαλούντων, Πελοποννήσιοί τινες μὲν καταλιπόντες αὐτὸν εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἀπέπλευσαν, καὶ πρέσβεις ἀποστείλαντες κατηγόρουν τοῦ Παυσανίου, Ἀριστείδης δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος τῷ καιρῷ χρώμενος ἐμφρόνως ἐν ταῖς κοινολογίαις ἀνελάμβανε τὰς πόλεις καὶ διὰ τῆς ὁμιλίας προσαγόμενος ἰδίας ἐποίησε τοῖς

[1] So Reiske: ἀνεῖλεν.
[2] γὰρ added *Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 299.
[3] τινες added by Capps.

Persian garrisons; and after this he sailed to the Hellespont and took Byzantium, which was held by the Persians, and of the other barbarians some he slew and others he expelled, and thus liberated the city, but many important Persians whom he captured in the city he turned over to Gongylus of Eretria to guard. Ostensibly Gongylus was to keep these men for punishment, but actually he was to get them off safe to Xerxes; for Pausanias had secretly made a pact of friendship with the king and was about to marry the daughter of Xerxes, his purpose being to betray the Greeks. The man who was acting as negotiator in this affair was the general Artabazus, and he was quietly supplying Pausanias with large sums of money to be used in corrupting such Greeks as could serve their ends.

The plan of Pausanias, however, was brought to light and he got his punishment in the following manner. For Pausanias emulated the luxurious life of the Persians and dealt with his subordinates in the manner of a tyrant, so that they were all angry with him, and especially those Greeks who had been assigned to some command. Consequently, while many, as they mingled together in the army both by peoples and by cities, were railing at the harshness of Pausanias, some Peloponnesians[1] deserted him and sailed back to the Peloponnesus, and dispatching ambassadors to Sparta they lodged an accusation against Pausanias; and Aristeides the Athenian, making wise use of the opportunity, in the course of his public conferences with the states won them over and by his personal intimacy with them made them adherents

[1] *i.e.* the allies of Sparta, who of course supplied all the warships.

'Αθηναίοις. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον συνήργησε καὶ τὸ αὐτόματον τοῖς 'Αθηναίοις διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας.

45. Παυσανίας ἦν συντεθειμένος ὥστε τοὺς τὰς ἐπιστολὰς παρ' αὐτοῦ κομίζοντας πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα μὴ ἀνακάμπτειν μηδὲ γίνεσθαι μηνυτὰς τῶν ἀπορρήτων· δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἀναιρουμένων αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπολαμβανόντων τὰς ἐπιστολὰς συνέβαινε μηδένα
2 διασώζεσθαι. ἃ δὴ συλλογισάμενός τις τῶν βιβλιαφόρων ἀνέῳξε τὰς ἐπιστολάς, καὶ γνοὺς ἀληθὲς ὂν τὸ περὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν κομιζόντων τὰ γράμ-
3 ματα, ἀνέδωκε τοῖς ἐφόροις τὰς ἐπιστολάς. τούτων δὲ ἀπιστούντων διὰ τὸ ἀνεῳγμένας αὐτοῖς τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἀναδεδόσθαι, καὶ πίστιν ἑτέραν βεβαιοτέραν ζητούντων, ἐπηγγείλατο παραδώσειν αὐτὸν
4 ὁμολογοῦντα. πορευθεὶς οὖν ἐπὶ Ταίναρον καὶ καθεζόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερῷ διπλῆν σκηνὴν περιεβάλετο, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐφόρους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Σπαρτιατῶν τινας κατέκρυψε, τοῦ δὲ Παυσανίου παραγενομένου πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ πυνθανομένου τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἱκετείας, ἐμέμψατο αὐτῷ καθ' ὅσον εἰς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐνέγραψε τὸν κατ' αὐτοῦ
5 θάνατον. τοῦ δὲ Παυσανίου φήσαντος μεταμελεῖσθαι καὶ συγγνώμην αἰτουμένου τοῖς ἀγνοηθεῖσιν, ἔτι δὲ δεηθέντος ὅπως συγκρύψῃ, καὶ δωρεὰς μεγάλας ὑπισχνουμένου, αὐτοὶ μὲν διελύθησαν, οἱ δ' ἔφοροι καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν ἀκριβῶς μαθόντες τἀληθὲς τότε μὲν ἡσυχίαν ἔσχον, ὕστερον δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τοῖς ἐφόροις συλλαμβανόντων, προαισθό-

[1] It was undoubtedly the contacts which Aristeides established at this time and the confidence he aroused which led the Athenians to entrust him with the delicate task of fixing

of the Athenians.[1] But even more did matters play by mere chance into the hands of the Athenians by reason of the following facts.

45. Pausanias had stipulated that the men who carried the messages from him to the king should not return and thus become betrayers of their secret communications; consequently, since they were being put to death by the receivers of the letters, no one of them was ever returning alive. So one of the couriers, reasoning from this fact, opened his letters, and discovering that his inference was correct as to the killing of all who carried the messages, he turned the letters over to the ephors. But when the ephors were loath to believe this, because the letters had been turned over to them already opened, and demanded further and more substantial proof, the man offered to produce Pausanias acknowledging the facts in person. Consequently he went to Taenarum, and seating himself as a suppliant at the shrine of Poseidon he set up a tent with two rooms and concealed the ephors and certain other Spartans; and when Pausanias came to him and asked why he was a suppliant, the man upbraided him for directing in the letter that he should be put to death. Pausanias said that he was sorry and went on to ask the man to forgive the mistake; he even implored him to help keep the matter secret, promising him great gifts, and the two then parted. As for the ephors and the others with them, although they had learned the precise truth, at that time they held their peace, but on a later occasion, when the Lacedaemonians were taking up the matter together with the ephors, Pausanias

the contribution each city should make to the Confederacy (cp. chap. 47).

μενος ἔφθασε καὶ κατέφυγεν εἰς ἱερὸν τὸ τῆς
6 Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Χαλκιοίκου. ἀπορουμένων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων εἰ τιμωρήσονται τὸν ἱκέτην, λέγεται τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Παυσανίου καταντήσασαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἄλλο μὲν μηδὲν μήτ' εἰπεῖν μήτε πρᾶξαι,[1] πλίνθον δὲ βαστάσασαν ἀναθεῖναι κατὰ τὴν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν εἴσοδον, καὶ τοῦτο πράξασαν ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς
7 τὴν ἰδίαν οἰκίαν. τοὺς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους τῇ τῆς μητρὸς κρίσει συνακολουθήσαντας ἐνοικοδομῆσαι τὴν εἴσοδον, καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ συναναγκάσαι τὸν Παυσανίαν λιμῷ καταστρέψαι τὸν βίον. τὸ μὲν οὖν σῶμα τοῦ τελευτήσαντος συνεχωρήθη τοῖς προσήκουσι καταχῶσαι, τὸ δὲ δαιμόνιον τῆς τῶν
8 ἱκετῶν σωτηρίας καταλυθείσης ἐπεσήμηνε· τῶν γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίων περί τινων ἄλλων ἐν Δελφοῖς χρηστηριαζομένων, ὁ θεὸς ἔδωκε χρησμὸν κελεύων
9 ἀποκαταστῆσαι τῇ θεῷ τὸν ἱκέτην. διόπερ οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται τὴν μαντείαν ἀδύνατον νομίζοντες εἶναι, ἠπόρουν ἐφ' ἱκανὸν χρόνον, οὐ δυνάμενοι ποιῆσαι τὸ προσταττόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ· ὅμως δ' ἐκ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων βουλευσάμενοι κατεσκεύασαν εἰκόνας δύο τοῦ Παυσανίου χαλκᾶς, καὶ ἀνέθηκαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς.

46. Ἡμεῖς δὲ παρ' ὅλην τὴν ἱστορίαν εἰωθότες τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν διὰ τῶν ἐπιλεγομένων ἐπαίνων αὔξειν τὴν δόξαν, τοῖς δὲ φαύλοις ἐπὶ τῆς τελευτῆς ἐπιφθέγγεσθαι τὰς ἁρμοζούσας βλασφημίας, οὐκ ἐάσομεν τὴν Παυσανίου κακίαν καὶ προδοσίαν

[1] τι after πρᾶξαι deleted by Hertlein, Vogel, retained by Dindorf, Bekker.

learned of it in advance, acted first, and fled for safety into the temple of Athena of the Brazen House.[1] And while the Lacedaemonians were hesitating whether to punish him now that he was a suppliant, we are told that the mother of Pausanias, coming to the temple, neither said nor did anything else than to pick up a brick and lay it against the entrance of the temple, and after she had done this she returned to her home. And the Lacedaemonians, falling in with the mother's decision, walled up the entrance and in this manner forced Pausanias to meet his end through starvation.[2] Now the body of the dead man was turned over to his relatives for burial; but the divinity showed its displeasure at the violation of the sanctity of suppliants, for once when the Lacedaemonians were consulting the oracle at Delphi about some other matters, the god replied by commanding them to restore her suppliant to the goddess. Consequently the Spartans, thinking the oracle's command to be impracticable, were at a loss for a considerable time, being unable to carry out the injunction of the god. Concluding, however, to do as much as was within their power, they made two bronze statues of Pausanias and set them up in the temple of Athena.

46. As for us, since throughout our entire history we have made it our practice in the case of good men to enhance their glory by means of the words of praise we pronounce over them, and in the case of bad men, when they die, to utter the appropriate obloquies, we shall not leave the turpitude and treachery of Pausanias to go uncondemned. For

[1] The famous shrine in Sparta.
[2] Thucydides (1. 134) says that he was removed from the temple just before death to avoid the pollution of the shrine.

2 ἀκατηγόρητον. τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσαι[1] τούτου τὴν ἄνοιαν, ὃς εὐεργέτης γενόμενος τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ νικήσας τὴν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς μάχην καὶ πολλὰς ἄλλας ἐπαινουμένας πράξεις ἐπιτελεσάμενος, οὐχ ὅπως τὸ παρὸν ἀξίωμα διεφύλαξεν, ἀλλ' ἀγαπήσας τῶν Περσῶν τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ τὴν τρυφὴν ἅπασαν
3 τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν εὐδοξίαν κατῄσχυνεν; ἐπαρθεὶς γὰρ ταῖς εὐτυχίαις τὴν μὲν Λακωνικὴν ἀγωγὴν ἐστύγησε, τὴν δὲ τῶν Περσῶν ἀκολασίαν καὶ τρυφὴν ἐμιμήσατο, ὃν ἥκιστα ἐχρῆν ζηλῶσαι τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιτηδεύματα· οὐ γὰρ ἑτέρων πεπυσμένος, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἔργῳ[2] πεῖραν εἰληφὼς ἐγίνωσκε[3] πόσῳ τῆς τῶν Περσῶν τρυφῆς ἡ πάτριος δίαιτα πρὸς ἀρετὴν διέφερεν.

4 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ αὐτὸς μὲν διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν κακίαν οὐ μόνον τῆς ἀξίας ἔτυχε τιμωρίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πολίταις αἴτιος κατέστη τοῦ τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν ἡγεμονίαν ἀποβαλεῖν· ἐκ παραθέσεως γὰρ ἡ Ἀριστείδου στρατηγία παρὰ τοῖς συμμάχοις θεωρουμένη, καὶ διὰ τὴν εἰς τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους ὁμιλίαν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετάς, ἐποίησε πάντας ὥσπερ ἀπὸ
5 μιᾶς ὁρμῆς ἀποκλῖναι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. διὸ καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης πεμπομένοις ἡγεμόσιν οὐκέτι προσεῖχον, Ἀριστείδην δὲ θαυμάζοντες καὶ πάντα προθύμως ὑπακούοντες ἐποίησαν χωρὶς κινδύνου παραλαβεῖν τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχήν.

47. Εὐθὺς οὖν ὁ μὲν Ἀριστείδης συνεβούλευε τοῖς συμμάχοις ἅπασι κοινὴν ἄγουσι σύνοδον ἀποδεῖξαι

[1] So Vogel: θαυμάσῃ P, θαυμάσειε other MSS.

who would not be amazed at the folly of this man who, though he had been a benefactor of Greece, had won the battle of Plataea, and had performed many other deeds which won applause, not only failed to safeguard the esteem he enjoyed but by his love of the wealth and luxury of the Persians brought dishonour upon the good name he already possessed? Indeed, elated by his successes he came to abhor the Laconian manner of life and to imitate the licentiousness and luxury of the Persians, he who least of all had reason to emulate the customs of the barbarians; for he had not learned of them from others, but in person by actual contact he had made trial of them and was aware how greatly superior with respect to virtue his ancestors' way of life was to the luxury of the Persians.

And in truth because of his own baseness Pausanias not only himself received the punishment he deserved, but he also brought it about that his countrymen lost the supremacy at sea. In comparison, for instance, take the fine tact of Aristeides in dealing with the allies: when they took note of it, both because of his affability toward his subordinates and his uprightness in general, it caused them all as with one impulse to incline toward the Athenian cause. Consequently the allies no longer paid any heed to the commanders who were sent from Sparta, but in their admiration of Aristeides they eagerly submitted to him in every matter and thus brought it about that he received the supreme command by sea without having to fight for it.

47. At once, then, Aristeides advised all the allies as they were holding a general assembly to designate

[2] So Stephanus: ἐγώ.
[3] So Vogel: ἐγίνωσκον.

τὴν[1] Δῆλον κοινὸν ταμιεῖον, καὶ τὰ χρήματα πάντα τὰ συναγόμενα εἰς ταύτην κατατίθεσθαι, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν Περσῶν ὑποπτευόμενον πόλεμον τάξαι φόρον ταῖς πόλεσι πάσαις κατὰ δύναμιν, ὥστε γίνεσθαι τὸ πᾶν ἄθροισμα ταλάντων πεντακοσίων
2 καὶ ἑξήκοντα. ταχθεὶς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν διάταξιν τῶν φόρων, οὕτως ἀκριβῶς καὶ δικαίως τὸν διαμερισμὸν ἐποίησεν ὥστε πάσας τὰς πόλεις εὐδοκῆσαι. διὸ καὶ δοκῶν ἕν τι τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἔργων συντετελεκέναι, μεγίστην ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνῃ δόξαν ἐκτήσατο καὶ διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς δικαιοσύνης δίκαιος ἐπωνο-
3 μάσθη. ὑφ' ἕνα δὲ καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἡ μὲν τοῦ Παυσανίου κακία τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν ἡγεμονίας ἐστέρησε τοὺς πολίτας, ἡ Ἀριστείδου δὲ κατὰ πᾶν ἀρετὴ τὰς Ἀθήνας τὴν οὐκ οὖσαν στρατηγίαν ἐποίησε κτήσασθαι.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράχθη κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν.

48. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Φαίδωνος Ὀλυμπιὰς μὲν ἤχθη ἕκτη πρὸς ταῖς ἑβδομήκοντα, καθ' ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Σκαμάνδριος Μυτιληναῖος, ἐν Ῥώμῃ δ' ὑπῆρχον ὕπατοι Καίσων Φάβιος καὶ
2 Σπόριος Φούριος Μενέλλαιος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Λεωτυχίδης ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς ἐτελεύτησεν ἄρξας ἔτη εἴκοσι καὶ δύο, τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν διαδεξάμενος Ἀρχίδαμος[2] ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη τετταράκοντα καὶ δύο. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ καὶ Ἀναξίλας ὁ Ῥηγίου καὶ Ζάγκλης τύραννος, δυναστεύσας ἔτη

[1] τὴν omitted by P, Vogel.
[2] So Palmer: Ἀρχέλαος.

[1] That is, the temple of Apollo on that island.
[2] According to Thucydides (1. 96. 2) and Plutarch (*Aris-*

the island of Delos[1] as their common treasury and to deposit there all the money they collected, and towards the war which they suspected would come from the Persians to impose a levy upon all the cities according to their means, so that the entire sum collected would amount to five hundred and sixty talents.[2] And when he was appointed to allocate the levy, he distributed the sum so accurately and justly that all the cities consented to it. Consequently, since he was considered to have accomplished an impossible thing, he won for himself a very high reputation for justice, and because he excelled in that virtue he was given the epithet of "the Just." Thus at one and the same time the baseness of Pausanias deprived his countrymen of the supremacy on the sea, and the all-round virtue of Aristeides caused Athens to gain the leadership which she had not possessed before.

These, then, were the events of this year.

48. When Phaedon was archon in Athens, the 476 B.C.
Seventy-sixth Olympiad was celebrated, that in which Scamandrius of Mytilenê won the "stadion," and in Rome the consuls were Caeso Fabius and Spurius Furius Menellaeus.[3] In the course of this year Leotychides, the king of the Lacedaemonians, died after a reign of twenty-two years, and he was succeeded on the throne by Archidamus, who ruled for forty-two years. And there died also Anaxilas, the tyrant of Rhegium and Zanclê,[4] after a rule of

teides, 24. 3) the first assessment amounted to four hundred and sixty talents. The latest and fullest treatment of this subject is B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery, M. F. McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, Vol. 1 (1939).
[3] This should probably be Medullinus.
[4] The earlier name of Messenê in Sicily.

δέκα ὀκτώ, τὴν δὲ τυραννίδα διεδέξατο Μίκυθος, πιστευθεὶς ὥστε ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς τέκνοις τοῦ τελευ-
3 τήσαντος οὖσι νέοις τὴν ἡλικίαν. Ἱέρων δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Συρακοσίων μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Γέλωνος τελευτὴν τὸν μὲν ἀδελφὸν Πολύζηλον ὁρῶν εὐδοκιμοῦντα παρὰ τοῖς Συρακοσίοις καὶ νομίζων αὐτὸν ἔφεδρον ὑπάρχειν τῆς βασιλείας, ἔσπευδεν ἐκποδὼν ποιήσασθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ ξενολογῶν καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν σύστημα ξένων παρασκευάζων ὑπελάμβανεν ἀσφα-
4 λῶς καθέξειν τὴν βασιλείαν. διὸ καὶ Συβαριτῶν πολιορκουμένων ὑπὸ Κροτωνιατῶν καὶ δεομένων βοηθῆσαι, στρατιώτας πολλοὺς κατέγραψεν εἰς τὴν στρατιάν,[1] ἣν παρεδίδου Πολυζήλῳ τἀδελφῷ νομίζων αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Κροτωνιατῶν ἀναιρεθή-
5 σεσθαι. τοῦ δὲ Πολυζήλου πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν οὐχ ὑπακούσαντος διὰ τὴν ῥηθεῖσαν ὑποψίαν, δι' ὀργῆς εἶχε τὸν ἀδελφόν, καὶ φυγόντος[2] πρὸς Θήρωνα τὸν Ἀκραγαντίνων τύραννον, καταπολεμῆσαι τοῦτον παρεσκευάζετο.

6 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Θρασυδαίου τοῦ Θήρωνος ἐπιστατοῦντος τῆς τῶν Ἱμεραίων πόλεως βαρύτερον τοῦ καθήκοντος, συνέβη τοὺς Ἱμεραίους ἀπαλλο-
7 τριωθῆναι παντελῶς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὸν πατέρα πορεύεσθαί τε καὶ κατηγορεῖν ἀπεδοκίμαζον, νομίζοντες οὐχ ἕξειν ἴσον ἀκουστήν· πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ἱέρωνα πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλαν κατηγοροῦντες τοῦ Θρασυδαίου καὶ ἐπαγγελλόμενοι τήν τε πόλιν ἐκείνῳ παραδώσειν καὶ συνεπιθήσεσθαι τοῖς περὶ
8 τὸν Θήρωνα. ὁ δὲ Ἱέρων κρίνας εἰρηνικῶς διαλύσασθαι πρὸς τὸν Θήρωνα, προύδωκε τοὺς

[1] So Dindorf: στρατείαν. [2] So Dindorf: φυγόντα.

[1] As of a third competitor waiting to fight the victor.

eighteen years, and he was succeeded in the tyranny by Micythus, who was entrusted with the position on the understanding that he would restore it to the sons of Anaxilas, who were not yet of age. And Hieron, who became king of the Syracusans after the death of Gelon, observing how popular his brother Polyzelus was among the Syracusans and believing that he was waiting to seize[1] the kingship, was eager to put him out of the way, and so, enlisting foreign soldiers and gathering about his person an organized body of mercenaries, he thought that by these means he could hold the kingship securely. And so, when the Sybarites were being besieged by the Crotoniates and called on Hieron for help, he enrolled many soldiers in the army, which he then put under the command of his brother Polyzelus in the belief that he would be slain by the Crotoniates. When Polyzelus, suspecting what we have mentioned, refused to undertake the campaign, Hieron was enraged at his brother, and when Polyzelus took refuge with Theron, the tyrant of Acragas, he began making preparation for war upon Theron.

Subsequently to these events, Thrasydaeus the son of Theron was governing the city of Himera more harshly than was proper, and the result was that the Himerans became altogether alienated from him. Now they rejected the idea of going to his father and entering an accusation with him, since they did not believe they would have in him a fair listener; but they dispatched to Hieron ambassadors, who presented their complaints against Thrasydaeus and offered to hand Himera over to Hieron and join him in his attack upon Theron. Hieron, however, having decided to be at peace with Theron, betrayed the

Ἱμεραίους καὶ τὰ βεβουλευμένα λαθραίως ἐμήνυσεν. διόπερ Θήρων ἐξετάσας τὰ κατὰ τὴν βουλήν, καὶ τὴν μήνυσιν ἀληθινὴν εὑρίσκων, πρὸς μὲν τὸν Ἱέρωνα διελύσατο καὶ τὸν Πολύζηλον εἰς τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν εὔνοιαν ἀποκατέστησε, τῶν δὲ Ἱμεραίων τοὺς ἐναντίους πολλοὺς ὄντας συλλαβὼν ἀπέσφαξεν.

49. Ἱέρων δὲ τούς τε Ναξίους καὶ τοὺς Καταναίους ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἀναστήσας, ἰδίους οἰκήτορας ἀπέστειλεν, ἐκ μὲν Πελοποννήσου πεντακισχιλίους ἀθροίσας, ἐκ δὲ Συρακουσῶν ἄλλους τοσούτους προσθείς· καὶ τὴν μὲν Κατάνην μετωνόμασεν Αἴτνην, τὴν δὲ χώραν οὐ μόνον τὴν Καταναίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὴν τῆς ὁμόρου προσθεὶς κατεκληρούχησε,
2 μυρίους πληρώσας οἰκήτορας. τοῦτο δ᾽ ἔπραξε σπεύδων ἅμα μὲν ἔχειν βοήθειαν ἑτοίμην ἀξιόλογον πρὸς τὰς ἐπιούσας χρείας, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς γενομένης μυριάνδρου πόλεως τιμὰς ἔχειν ἡρωικάς. τοὺς δὲ Ναξίους καὶ τοὺς Καταναίους ἐκ τῶν πατρίδων ἀνασταθέντας μετῴκισεν εἰς τοὺς Λεοντίνους, καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων προσέταξε κατοικεῖν
3 τὴν πόλιν. Θήρων δὲ μετὰ τὴν Ἱμεραίων σφαγὴν ὁρῶν τὴν πόλιν οἰκητόρων δεομένην, συνῴκισεν εἰς ταύτην τούς τε Δωριεῖς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς
4 βουλομένους ἐπολιτογράφησεν. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν μετ᾽ ἀλλήλων καλῶς πολιτευόμενοι διετέλεσαν ἔτη πεντήκοντα καὶ ὀκτώ· τότε δὲ τῆς πόλεως ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων χειρωθείσης καὶ κατασκαφείσης, διέμεινεν ἀοίκητος μέχρι τῶν καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς καιρῶν.

50. Ἐπ᾽ ἄρχοντος δ᾽ Ἀθήνησι Δρομοκλείδου

[1] The city north of Syracuse on the coast.
[2] In 408 B.C.

Himerans and disclosed to him their secret plans. Consequently Theron, after examining into the reported plan and finding the information to be true, composed his differences with Hieron and restored Polyzelus to the favour he had previously enjoyed, and then he arrested his opponents, who were many, among the Himerans and put them to death.

49. Hieron removed the people of Naxos[1] and Catana from their cities and sent there settlers of his own choosing, having gathered five thousand from the Peloponnesus and added an equal number of others from Syracuse; and the name of Catana he changed to Aetna, and not only the territory of Catana but also much neighbouring land which he added to it he portioned out in allotments, up to the full sum of ten thousand settlers. This he did out of a desire, not only that he might have a substantial help ready at hand for any need that might arise, but also that from the recently founded state of ten thousand men he might receive the honours accorded to heroes. And the Naxians and Catanians whom he had removed from their native states he transferred to Leontini and commanded them to make their homes in that city along with the native population. And Theron, seeing that after the slaughter of the Himerans the city was in need of settlers, made a mixed multitude there, enrolling as its citizens both Dorians and any others who so wished. These citizens lived together on good terms in the state for fifty-eight years; but at the expiration of this period the city was conquered and razed to the ground by the Carthaginians[2] and has remained without inhabitants to this day.

50. When Dromocleides was archon in Athens, the 475 B.C.

Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Μάρκον Φάβιον
καὶ Γναῖον Μάλλιον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Λακεδαιμόνιοι
τὴν τῆς θαλάττης ἡγεμονίαν ἀποβεβληκότες ἀλό-
γως, βαρέως ἔφερον· διὸ καὶ τοῖς ἀφεστηκόσιν ἀπ'
αὐτῶν Ἕλλησι χαλεπῶς ἔχοντες, ἠπείλουν ἐπι-
2 θήσειν αὐτοῖς τὴν προσήκουσαν τιμωρίαν. συν-
αχθείσης δὲ τῆς γερουσίας ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ τοῦ
πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὑπὲρ τῆς κατὰ
3 θάλατταν ἡγεμονίας. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῆς κοινῆς
ἐκκλησίας συναχθείσης, οἱ μὲν νεώτεροι καὶ τῶν
ἄλλων οἱ πολλοὶ φιλοτίμως εἶχον ἀνακτήσασθαι τὴν
ἡγεμονίαν, νομίζοντες, ἐὰν αὐτὴν περιποιήσωνται,
χρημάτων τε πολλῶν εὐπορήσειν καὶ καθόλου τὴν
Σπάρτην[1] μείζονα ποιήσεσθαι καὶ δυνατωτέραν,
τούς τε τῶν ἰδιωτῶν οἴκους πολλὴν ἐπίδοσιν λήψε-
4 σθαι πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν. ἀνεμιμνήσκοντο δὲ καὶ τῆς
ἀρχαίας μαντείας, ἐν ᾗ προσέταξεν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς
σκοπεῖν ὅπως μὴ χωλὴν ἔχωσι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, καὶ
τὸν χρησμὸν ἔφασαν εἰς οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ τὸ παρὸν
λέγειν· χωλὴν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὑπάρξειν τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐὰν
οὐσῶν δυεῖν ἡγεμονιῶν τὴν ἑτέραν ἀποβάλωσι.
5 Πάντων δὲ σχεδὸν τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς ταύτην τὴν
ὑπόθεσιν ὡρμημένων, καὶ τῆς γερουσίας συνεδρευ-
ούσης περὶ τούτων, οὐδεὶς ἤλπισεν οὐδένα τολμή-
6 σειν[2] συμβουλεῦσαι ἕτερόν τι. τῶν δὲ ἐκ τῆς
γερουσίας τις, ὄνομα μὲν Ἑτοιμαρίδας, τὸ δὲ γένος
ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους ὢν καὶ δι' ἀρετὴν ἀποδοχῆς τυγ-
χάνων παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις, ἐπεχείρησε συμβουλεύειν
ἐᾶν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας· μὴ συμ-
φέρειν γὰρ τῇ Σπάρτῃ τῆς θαλάττης ἀμφισβητεῖν·

[1] So Reiske: σπουδήν. [2] So Vogel: τολμῆσαι.

Romans elected as consuls Marcus Fabius and Gnaeus Manlius. In this year the Lacedaemonians, now that for no good reason they had lost the command of the sea, were resentful; consequently they were incensed at the Greeks who had fallen away from them and continued to threaten them with the appropriate punishment. And when a meeting of the Gerousia[1] was convened, they considered making war upon the Athenians for the sake of regaining the command of the sea. Likewise, when the general Assembly was convened, the younger men and the majority of the others were eager to recover the leadership, believing that, if they could secure it, they would enjoy great wealth, Sparta in general would be made greater and more powerful, and the estates of its private citizens would receive a great increase of prosperity. They kept calling to mind also the ancient oracle in which the god commanded them to beware lest their leadership should be a "lame" one, and the oracle, they insisted, meant nothing other than the present; for "lame" indeed their rule would be if, having two leaderships,[2] they should lose one of them.

Since practically all the citizens had been eager for this course of action and the Gerousia was in session to consider these matters, no one entertained the hope that any man would have the temerity to suggest any other course. But a member of the Gerousia, Hetoemaridas by name, who was a direct descendant of Heracles and enjoyed favour among the citizens by reason of his character, undertook to advise that they leave the Athenians with their leadership, since it was not to Sparta's interest, he declared, to lay claim to the

[1] The Spartan Senate, composed of thirty members.
[2] *i.e.* by land and by sea.

πρὸς παράδοξον δὲ ὑπόθεσιν εἰπεῖν εὐπορήσας
λόγους ἁρμόζοντας, παρὰ τὴν προσδοκίαν ἔπεισε
7 τὴν γερουσίαν καὶ τὸν δῆμον. τέλος δὲ οἱ Λακε-
δαιμόνιοι κρίναντες τὸν Ἑτοιμαρίδαν συμφέροντα
λέγειν ἀπέστησαν τῆς περὶ τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς τοὺς
8 Ἀθηναίους ὁρμῆς. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
προσεδόκων μέγαν πόλεμον ἕξειν πρὸς τοὺς Λακε-
δαιμονίους περὶ τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν ἡγεμονίας, καὶ
διὰ τοῦτο τριήρεις κατεσκεύαζον πλείους καὶ χρη-
μάτων πλῆθος ἐπορίζοντο[1] καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις
ἐπιεικῶς προσεφέροντο· ὡς δὲ τὰ δοχθέντα τοῖς
Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπύθοντο, τοῦ μὲν φόβου τοῦ κατὰ
τὸν πόλεμον ἀπελύθησαν, περὶ δὲ τὴν αὔξησιν τῆς
ἰδίας πόλεως ἠσχολοῦντο.

51. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησιν Ἀκεστορίδου ἐν
Ῥώμῃ τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν διεδέξαντο Καίσων Φά-
βιος καὶ Τίτος Οὐεργίνιος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἱέρων
μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Συρακοσίων, παραγενομένων
πρὸς αὐτὸν πρέσβεων ἐκ Κύμης τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ
δεομένων βοηθῆσαι πολεμουμένοις ὑπὸ Τυρρηνῶν
θαλαττοκρατούντων, ἐξέπεμψεν αὐτοῖς συμμαχίαν
2 τριήρεις ἱκανάς. οἱ δὲ τῶν νεῶν τούτων ἡγεμόνες
ἐπειδὴ κατέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν Κύμην, μετὰ τῶν ἐγ-
χωρίων μὲν ἐναυμάχησαν πρὸς τοὺς Τυρρηνούς,
πολλὰς δὲ ναῦς αὐτῶν διαφθείραντες καὶ μεγάλῃ
ναυμαχίᾳ νικήσαντες, τοὺς μὲν Τυρρηνοὺς ἐταπεί-
νωσαν, τοὺς δὲ Κυμαίους ἠλευθέρωσαν τῶν φόβων,
καὶ ἀπέπλευσαν ἐπὶ Συρακούσας.

52. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Μένωνος Ῥω-
μαῖοι μὲν ὑπάτους κατέστησαν Λεύκιον Αἰμίλιον
Μάμερκον καὶ Γάιον Κορνήλιον Λέντουλον, κατὰ
δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πόλεμος ἐνέστη Ταραντίνοις πρὸς

sea. He was able to bring pertinent arguments in support of his surprising proposal, so that, against the expectation of all, he won over both the Gerousia and the people. And in the end the Lacedaemonians decided that the opinion of Hetoemaridas was to their advantage and abandoned their zest for the war against the Athenians. As for the Athenians, at first they expected to have a great war with the Lacedaemonians for the command of the sea, and for this reason were building additional triremes, raising a large sum of money, and dealing honourably with their allies; but when they learned of the decision of the Lacedaemonians, they were relieved of their fear of war and set about increasing the power of their city.

51. When Acestorides was archon in Athens, in 474 B.C.
Rome Caeso Fabius and Titus Verginius succeeded to the consulship. And in this year Hieron, the king of the Syracusans, when ambassadors came to him from Cumae in Italy and asked his aid in the war which the Tyrrhenians, who were at that time masters of the sea, were waging against them, he dispatched to their aid a considerable number of triremes. And after the commanders of this fleet had put in at Cumae, joining with the men of that region they fought a naval battle with the Tyrrhenians, and destroying many of their ships and conquering them in a great sea-fight, they humbled the Tyrrhenians and delivered the Cumaeans from their fears, after which they sailed back to Syracuse.

52. When Menon was archon in Athens, the Ro- 473 B.C.
mans chose as consuls Lucius Aemilius Mamercus and Gaius Cornelius Lentulus, and in Italy a war broke out between the Tarantini and the Iapygians. For

[1] So Rhodoman (cp. 13. 36. 1): ἐπόριζον.

2 τοὺς Ἰάπυγας· περὶ γὰρ ὁμόρου χώρας ἀμφισβητούντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐπὶ μέν τινας χρόνους διετέλουν ἀψιμαχοῦντες καὶ λεηλατοῦντες τὰς ἀλλήλων χώρας, ἀεὶ δὲ μᾶλλον τῆς διαφορᾶς συναυξομένης καὶ πολλάκις φόνων γινομένων, τὸ τε-
3 λευταῖον εἰς ὁλοσχερῆ φιλοτιμίαν ὥρμησαν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἰάπυγες τήν τε παρ' αὑτῶν δύναμιν παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ τὴν παρὰ τῶν ὁμόρων συμμαχίαν συνέλαβον, καὶ τοὺς σύμπαντας ἤθροισαν ὑπὲρ τοὺς δισμυρίους· οἱ δὲ Ταραντῖνοι πυθόμενοι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἠθροισμένης δυνάμεως, τούς τε πολιτικοὺς στρατιώτας ἤθροισαν καὶ Ῥηγίνων συμ-
4 μάχων ὄντων πολλοὺς προσελάβοντο. γενομένης δὲ μάχης ἰσχυρᾶς καὶ πολλῶν παρ' ἀμφοτέροις πεσόντων, τὸ τελευταῖον οἱ Ἰάπυγες ἐνίκησαν. τῶν δὲ ἡττηθέντων εἰς δύο μέρη σχισθέντων κατὰ τὴν φυγήν, καὶ τῶν μὲν εἰς Τάραντα τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ποιουμένων, τῶν δὲ εἰς τὸ Ῥήγιον φευγόντων, παραπλησίως τούτοις καὶ οἱ Ἰάπυγες ἐμερίσθησαν.
5 οἱ μὲν οὖν τοὺς Ταραντίνους διώξαντες ὀλίγου διαστήματος ὄντος πολλοὺς τῶν ἐναντίων ἀνεῖλον, οἱ δὲ τοὺς Ῥηγίνους διώκοντες ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐφιλοτιμήθησαν ὥστε συνεισπεσεῖν τοῖς φεύγουσιν εἰς τὸ Ῥήγιον καὶ τῆς πόλεως κυριεῦσαι.

53. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἦρχε Χάρης, ἐν Ῥώμῃ δὲ ὕπατοι καθειστήκεσαν Τίτος Μινούνιος καὶ Γάιος Ὁράτιος Πολύειδος,[1] ἤχθη δὲ παρ' Ἠλείοις Ὀλυμπιὰς ἑβδομηκοστὴ καὶ ἑβδόμη, καθ' ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Δάνδης Ἀργεῖος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων κατὰ μὲν τὴν Σικελίαν Θήρων ὁ Ἀκραγαντίνων δυνάστης ἐτελεύτησεν ἄρξας ἔτη δέκα καὶ ἕξ, τὴν
2 δὲ ἀρχὴν διεδέξατο Θρασυδαῖος ὁ υἱός. ὁ μὲν οὖν

these peoples, disputing with each other over some land on their borders, had been engaging for some years in skirmishings and in raiding each other's territory, and since the difference between them kept constantly increasing and frequently resulted in deaths, they finally went headlong into out-and-out contention. Now the Iapygians not only made ready the army of their own men but they also joined with them an auxiliary force of their neighbours, collecting in this way a total body of more than twenty thousand soldiers; and the Tarantini, on learning of the great size of the army gathered against them, both mustered the soldiers of their state and added to them many more of the Rhegians, who were their allies. A fierce battle took place and many fell on both sides, but in the end the Iapygians were victorious. When the defeated army split in the flight into two bodies, the one retreating to Tarentum and the other fleeing to Rhegium, the Iapygians, following their example, also divided. Those who pursued the Tarantini, the distance being short, slew many of the enemy, but those who were pressing after the Rhegians were so eager that they broke into Rhegium together with the fugitives and took possession of the city.

53. The next year Chares was archon in Athens, 472 B.C.
and in Rome the consuls elected were Titus Menenius and Gaius Horatius Pulvillus, and the Eleians celebrated the Seventy-seventh Olympiad, that in which Dandes of Argos won the "stadion." In this year in Sicily Theron, the despot of Acragas, died after a reign of sixteen years, and his son Thrasydaeus succeeded to the throne. Now Theron, since he had

[1] Μινούνιος and Πολύειδος are corruptions of Μενήνιος and Πολουίλλος.

Θήρων τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπιεικῶς διῳκηκώς, καὶ ζῶν μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς ἐτύγχανε παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις καὶ τελευτήσας ἡρωικῶν ἔτυχε τιμῶν, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ζῶντος ἔτι τοῦ πατρὸς βίαιος ἦν καὶ φονικὸς καὶ τελευτήσαντος ἦρχε τῆς πατρίδος παρα-
3 νόμως καὶ τυραννικῶς. διὸ καὶ ταχέως ἀπιστηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων διετέλεσεν ἐπιβουλευόμενος καὶ βίον ἔχων μισούμενον· ὅθεν ταχέως τῆς ἰδίας παρανομίας οἰκείαν ἔσχε τὴν τοῦ βίου καταστροφήν. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς Θήρωνος τελευτὴν πολλοὺς μισθοφόρους ἀθροίσας καὶ τῶν Ἀκραγαντίνων καὶ Ἱμεραίων προσκαταλέξας, τοὺς ἅπαντας ἤθροι-
4 σεν ὑπὲρ τοὺς δισμυρίους ἱππεῖς καὶ πεζούς. μετὰ δὲ τούτων μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ πολεμεῖν τοῖς Συρακοσίοις, Ἱέρων ὁ βασιλεὺς παρασκευασάμενος δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀκράγαντα. γενομένης δὲ μάχης ἰσχυρᾶς πλεῖστοι[1] παραταξαμένων
5 Ἑλλήνων πρὸς Ἕλληνας ἔπεσον. τῇ μὲν οὖν μάχῃ ἐπροτέρησαν οἱ Συρακόσιοι, κατεκόπησαν δὲ τῶν μὲν Συρακοσίων εἰς δισχιλίους, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὑπὲρ τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Θρασυδαῖος μὲν ταπεινωθεὶς ἐξέπεσεν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ φυγὼν εἰς Μεγαρεῖς τοὺς Νισαίους καλουμένους, ἐκεῖ θανάτου καταγνωσθεὶς ἐτελεύτησεν· οἱ δ' Ἀκραγαντῖνοι κομισάμενοι τὴν δημοκρατίαν, διαπρεσβευσάμενοι πρὸς Ἱέρωνα τῆς εἰρήνης ἔτυχον.
6 Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς Οὐηιεντανοὺς ἐνστάντος πολέμου μεγάλη μάχη συνέστη περὶ τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Κρεμέραν. τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων

[1] τῶν after πλεῖστοι deleted by Madvig.

administered his office equitably, not only enjoyed great favour among his countrymen during his lifetime, but also upon his death he was accorded the honours which are paid to heroes; but his son, even while his father was still living, was violent and murderous, and after his father's death ruled over his native city without respect for the laws and like a tyrant. Consequently he quickly lost the confidence of his subjects and was the constant object of plots, living a life of execration; and so he soon came to an end befitting his own lawlessness. For Thrasydaeus after the death of his father Theron gathered many mercenary soldiers and enrolled also citizens of Acragas and Himera, and thus got together in all more than twenty thousand cavalry and infantry. And since he was preparing to make war with these troops upon the Syracusans, Hieron the king made ready a formidable army and marched upon Acragas. A fierce battle took place, and a very large number fell, since Greeks were marshalled against Greeks. Now the fight was won by the Syracusans, who lost some two thousand men against more than four thousand for their opponents. Thereupon Thrasydaeus, having been humbled, was expelled from his position, and fleeing to Nisaean Megara,[1] as it is called, he was there condemned to death and met his end; and the Acragantini, having now recovered their democratic form of government, sent ambassadors to Hieron and secured peace.

In Italy war broke out between the Romans and the Veiians and a great battle was fought at the site called Cremera.[2] The Romans were defeated and

[1] Megara in Greece as contrasted with Hyblaean Megara in Sicily.
[2] The traditional date is 477 B.C.

ἡττηθέντων συνέβη πολλοὺς αὐτῶν πεσεῖν, ὧν φασί τινες τῶν συγγραφέων καὶ τοὺς Φαβίους τοὺς τριακοσίους, συγγενεῖς ἀλλήλων ὄντας καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μιᾷ περιειλημμένους προσηγορίᾳ.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράχθη κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν.

54. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Πραξιέργου Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ὑπάτους κατέστησαν Αὖλον Οὐεργίνιον Τρίκοστον καὶ Γάιον Σερουίλιον Στροῦκτον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἠλεῖοι μὲν πλείους καὶ μικρὰς πόλεις οἰκοῦντες εἰς μίαν συνῳκίσθησαν τὴν ὀνομαζομένην
2 Ἦλιν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὁρῶντες τὴν μὲν Σπάρτην διὰ τὴν Παυσανίου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ προδοσίαν ταπεινῶς πράττουσαν, τοὺς δὲ Ἀθηναίους εὐδοκιμοῦντας διὰ τὸ μηδένα παρ' αὐτοῖς πολίτην ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ κατεγνῶσθαι, ἔσπευδον τὰς Ἀθήνας ταῖς
3 ὁμοίαις περιβαλεῖν διαβολαῖς. διόπερ εὐδοκιμοῦντος παρ' αὐτοῖς Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ μεγάλην δόξαν ἔχοντος ἐπ' ἀρετῇ, κατηγόρησαν προδοσίαν αὐτοῦ, φάσκοντες φίλον γενέσθαι τοῦ Παυσανίου μέγιστον, καὶ μετὰ τούτου συντεθεῖσθαι κοινῇ προδοῦναι τὴν
4 Ἑλλάδα τῷ Ξέρξῃ. διελέγοντο δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους, παροξύνοντες αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὴν κατηγορίαν, καὶ χρήματα ἔδοσαν, διδάσκοντες ὅτι Παυσανίας μὲν κρίνας προδιδόναι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐδήλωσε τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπιβολὴν Θεμιστοκλεῖ καὶ παρεκάλεσε κοινωνεῖν τῆς προθέσεως, ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς οὔτε προσεδέξατο τὴν ἔντευξιν οὔτε διαβάλλειν
5 ἔκρινε δεῖν ἄνδρα φίλον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ κατηγορη-

[1] This is one of the most famous of the legends of early Roman history. Diodorus gives the sensible account that this was a battle between the Romans and the Etruscans for

many of them perished, among their number, according to some historians, being the three hundred Fabii, who were of the same gens and hence were included under the single name.[1]

These, then, were the events of this year.

54. When Praxiergus was archon in Athens, the 471 B.C.
Romans elected as consuls Aulus Verginius Tricostus and Gaius Servilius Structus. At this time the Eleians, who dwelt in many small cities, united to form one state which is known as Elis. And the Lacedaemonians, seeing that Sparta was in a humbled state by reason of the treason of their general Pausanias, whereas the Athenians were in good repute because no one of their citizens had been found guilty of treason, were eager to involve Athens in similar discreditable charges. Consequently, since Themistocles was greatly esteemed by the Athenians and enjoyed great fame for his high character, they accused him of treason, maintaining that he had been a close friend of Pausanias and had agreed with him that together they would betray Greece to Xerxes. They also carried on conversations with the enemies of Themistocles, inciting them to lodge an accusation against him, and gave them money; and they explained that, when Pausanias decided to betray the Greeks, he disclosed the plan he had to Themistocles and urged him to participate in the project, and that Themistocles neither agreed to the request nor decided that it was his duty to accuse a man who was his friend. At any rate a charge was brought against

the control of the right bank of the Tiber, and many Fabii fell in the struggle. But in some way the Fabian gens dressed up the story so that in later tradition only Fabii and their clients were fighting Rome's battle for "bridgeheads" on the Tiber (cp. Dionys. Hal. 9. 19-21; Livy, 2. 50).

θεὶς ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς τότε μὲν ἀπέφυγε τὴν τῆς προδοσίας κρίσιν. διὸ καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον μετὰ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν μέγας ἦν παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις· ἠγάπων γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις διαφερόντως οἱ πολῖται· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ μὲν φοβηθέντες αὐτοῦ τὴν ὑπεροχήν, οἱ δὲ φθονήσαντες τῇ δόξῃ, τῶν μὲν εὐεργεσιῶν ἐπελάθοντο, τὴν δ' ἰσχὺν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ φρόνημα ταπεινοῦν ἔσπευδον.

55. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως μετέστησαν, τοῦτον τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον ὀστρακισμὸν ἐπαγαγόντες αὐτῷ, ὃς ἐνομοθετήθη μὲν ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις μετὰ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῶν τυράννων τῶν περὶ Πεισίστρατον, ὁ δὲ νόμος ἐγένετο τοιοῦτος.
2 ἕκαστος τῶν πολιτῶν εἰς ὄστρακον ἔγραφε τοὔνομα τοῦ δοκοῦντος μάλιστα δύνασθαι καταλῦσαι τὴν δημοκρατίαν· ᾧ δ' ἂν ὄστρακα πλείω γένηται, φεύγειν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἐτέτακτο πενταετῆ χρόνον.
3 νομοθετῆσαι δὲ ταῦτα δοκοῦσιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐχ ἵνα τὴν κακίαν κολάζωσιν, ἀλλ' ἵνα τὰ φρονήματα τῶν ὑπερεχόντων ταπεινότερα γένηται διὰ τὴν φυγήν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Θεμιστοκλῆς τὸν προειρημένον τρόπον ἐξοστρακισθεὶς ἔφυγεν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος εἰς Ἄργος·

[1] The institution of ostracism was incorporated in one of the laws of Cleisthenes, and was passed in 507 B.C. but first used, according to Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 22), twenty years later, "when the people had gained self-confidence." Professor T. Leslie Shear has kindly allowed me to see an as yet unpublished paper of his, "Ostracism and the Ostraka from the Agora," which he prepared in 1941. Whereas Carcopino for the second edition of his *L'Ostracisme athénien* (1935) had 62 examples of the ballots used in Athenian ostracophoria (the balloting), the collection from the Agora now totals 503, and in 1937 a well on the North Slope

Themistocles, but at the time he was not found guilty of treason. Hence at first after he was absolved he stood high in the opinion of the Athenians; for his fellow citizens were exceedingly fond of him on account of his achievements. But afterwards those who feared the eminence he enjoyed, and others who were envious of his glory forgot his services to the state, and began to exert themselves to diminish his power and to lower his presumption.

55. First of all they removed Themistocles from Athens, employing against him what is called ostracism, an institution which was adopted in Athens after the overthrow of the tyranny of Peisistratus and his sons; and the law was as follows.[1] Each citizen wrote on a piece of pottery (*ostracon*) the name of the man who in his opinion had the greatest power to destroy the democracy; and the man who got the largest number of ostraca was obliged by the law to go into exile from his native land for a period of five years.[2] The Athenians, it appears, passed such a law, not for the purpose of punishing wrongdoing, but in order to lower through exile the presumption of men who had risen too high. Now Themistocles, having been ostracized in the manner we have described, fled as an exile from his native city to Argos.

yielded an additional 191 pieces. There are names of persons who were never ostracized and of many persons who are otherwise unknown. The accuracy of Aristotle's statement that the institution was first used in 487 B.C. is borne out against Walker's theory (*Camb. Anc. Hist.* 4, p. 152) that there may well have been instances of its use before the Battle of Marathon in 490 B.C.

[2] The period was ten years (Diodorus has probably confused the Athenian institution with a similar one of Syracuse where the term of exile was five years (cp. chap. 87. 1)), and a total of 6000 votes was required.

4 οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πυθόμενοι περὶ τούτων καὶ νομίσαντες παρὰ τῆς τύχης εἰληφέναι καιρὸν ἐπιθέσθαι τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ, πάλιν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐξαπέστειλαν πρέσβεις κατηγοροῦντες τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ὅτι τῷ Παυσανίᾳ κεκοινώνηκε τῆς προδοσίας, καὶ δεῖν ἔφασαν, τῶν κοινῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀδικημάτων, εἶναι τὴν κρίσιν οὐκ ἰδίᾳ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὅπερ εἰώθει[1] συνεδρεύειν κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον.

5 Ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁρῶν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους σπεύδοντας διαβαλεῖν τὴν πόλιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ταπεινῶσαι, τοὺς δ' Ἀθηναίους βουλομένους ἀπολογήσασθαι περὶ τῆς ἐπιφερομένης αἰτίας, ὑπέλαβεν
6 ἑαυτὸν παραδοθήσεσθαι τῷ κοινῷ συνεδρίῳ. τοῦτο δ' ᾔδει τὰς κρίσεις οὐ δικαίας, ἀλλὰ πρὸς χάριν ποιούμενον τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, τεκμαιρόμενος ἔκ τε τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἐποιήσατο περὶ τῶν ἀριστείων[2]· οὕτω γὰρ οἱ κύριοι τῆς ψήφου φθονερῶς διετέθησαν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὥστε πλείους τριήρεις αὐτῶν παρεσχημένων ἢ σύμπαντες οἱ ναυμαχήσαντες παρέσχοντο, οὐδὲν κρείττους
7 αὐτοὺς ἐποίησαν τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων. διὰ ταῦτα

[1] So Reiske: εἰώθεισαν.
[2] So Rhodoman: ἐποιήσατο τὴν κρίσιν περί τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν Ἀργείων.

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[1] The ostracism of Themistocles took place in the period 472–470 B.C. (Walker in the *Camb. Anc. Hist.* 5, pp. 62 f.), and this attack on him by the Spartans a year or so later. Thucydides (1. 135) states that he was to be recalled to Athens for trial, whether before the Assembly (so E. Meyer) or the Areopagus (Wilamowitz) is not clear. Modern writers generally reject Diodorus' account that his trial was to have

But the Lacedaemonians, learning of this and considering that Fortune had given them a favourable moment to attack Themistocles, again dispatched ambassadors to Athens. These accused Themistocles of complicity in the treason of Pausanias, and asserted that his trial, since their crimes affected all Greece, should not be held privately among the Athenians alone but rather before the General Congress of the Greeks which, according to custom, was to meet at that time.[1]

And Themistocles, seeing that the Lacedaemonians were bent upon defaming and humbling the Athenian state, and that the Athenians were anxious to clear themselves of the charge against them, assumed that he would be turned over to the General Congress. This body, he knew, made its decisions, not on the basis of justice, but out of favour to the Lacedaemonians, inferring this not only from its other actions but also from what it had done in making the awards for valour.[2] For in that instance those who controlled the voting showed such jealousy of the Athenians that, although these had contributed more triremes than all the others who took part in the battle, they made them out to be no whit better than the rest of the Greeks. These, then, were the

been before the General Congress of the Hellenic League. It is not impossible, however, that such a suggestion was first made by the Spartans, but was not pressed when the Athenians offered to recall him to Athens for trial. Plutarch (*Aristeides*, 21) states that a Hellenic League to prosecute the war against the Persians, meeting annually, was established in 479. It is clear that Diodorus was thinking of the General Congress of this league and not of that of the Peloponnesian League (cp. J. A. O. Larsen in *Class. Phil.* 28 (1933), pp. 263-265).

[2] Cp. chap. 27. 2.

δὴ συνέβη τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα τοῖς συνέδροις ἀπιστῆσαι. καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς προγεγενημένης ἀπολογίας ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ἀφορμὰς εἶχον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς τὴν ὕστερον γενομένην
8 κατηγορίαν. ὁ γὰρ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀπολογούμενος ὡμολόγει μὲν τὸν Παυσανίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολὰς ἀπεσταλκέναι παρακαλοῦντα μετασχεῖν τῆς προδοσίας, καὶ τούτῳ μεγίστῳ χρησάμενος τεκμηρίῳ συνίστανεν, ὅτι οὐκ ἂν παρεκάλει Παυσανίας αὐτόν, εἰ μὴ πρὸς τὴν ἀξίωσιν ἀντέλεγε.

56. Διὰ δὲ ταῦτα, καθάπερ προειρήκαμεν, ἔφυγεν ἐξ Ἄργους πρὸς Ἄδμητον τὸν Μολοττῶν βασιλέα· καταφυγὼν δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἑστίαν ἱκέτης ἐγένετο. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον προσεδέξατο αὐτὸν φιλοφρόνως καὶ παρεκάλει θαρρεῖν καὶ τὸ σύνολον
2 ἐπηγγέλλετο φροντιεῖν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀσφαλείας· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους Σπαρτιατῶν πρέσβεις ἀποστείλαντες πρὸς τὸν Ἄδμητον ἐξῄτουν αὐτὸν πρὸς τιμωρίαν, ἀποκαλοῦντες προδότην καὶ λυμεῶνα τῆς ὅλης Ἑλλάδος, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις μὴ παραδιδόντος αὐτὸν πολεμήσειν ἔφασαν μετὰ πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τὸ τηνικαῦθ' ὁ βασιλεὺς φοβηθεὶς μὲν τὰς ἀπειλάς, ἐλεῶν δὲ τὸν ἱκέτην καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς παραδόσεως αἰσχύνην ἐκκλίνων, ἔπειθε τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα τὴν ταχίστην ἀπιέναι λάθρᾳ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ χρυσοῦ πλῆθος
3 ἐδωρήσατο αὐτῷ ἐφόδιον τῆς φυγῆς. ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς πάντοθεν ἐλαυνόμενος καὶ τὸ χρυσίον

[1] There is no reference for this statement.

reasons why Themistocles distrusted the members of the Congress. Furthermore, it was from the speech in his own defence which Themistocles had made in Athens on the former occasion that the Lacedaemonians had got the basis for the accusation they afterwards made. For in that defence Themistocles had acknowledged that Pausanias had sent letters to him, urging him to share in the act of treason, and using this as the strongest piece of evidence in his behalf, he had established that Pausanias would not have urged him, unless he had opposed his first request.

56. It was for these reasons, as we have stated above,[1] that Themistocles fled from Argos to Admetus, the king of the Molossians; and taking refuge at Admetus' hearth he became his suppliant. The king at first received him kindly, urged him to be of good courage, and, in general, assured him that he would provide for his safety; but when the Lacedaemonians dispatched some of the most distinguished Spartans as ambassadors to Admetus and demanded the person of Themistocles for punishment, stigmatizing him as the betrayer and destroyer of the whole Greek world, and when they went further and declared that, if Admetus would not turn him over to them, they together with all the Greeks would make war on him, then indeed the king, fearing on the one hand the threats and yet pitying the suppliant and seeking to avoid the disgrace of handing him over, persuaded Themistocles to make his escape with all speed without the knowledge of the Lacedaemonians and gave him a large sum of gold to meet his expenses on the flight. And Themistocles, being persecuted as he was on every side, accepted the gold and fled

δεξάμενος ἔφυγε νυκτὸς ἐκ τῆς τῶν Μολοττῶν
χώρας, συμπράττοντος αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ πρὸς φυγὴν
τοῦ βασιλέως· εὑρὼν δὲ δύο νεανίσκους Λυγκηστὰς
τὸ γένος, ἐμπορικαῖς δὲ ἐργασίαις χρωμένους καὶ
διὰ τοῦτο τῶν ὁδῶν ἐμπείρως ἔχοντας, μετὰ τούτων
4 ἔφυγε. χρώμενος δὲ νυκτεριναῖς ὁδοιπορίαις ἔλαθε
τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ διὰ τῆς τῶν νεανίσκων
εὐνοίας τε καὶ κακοπαθείας κατήντησεν εἰς τὴν
Ἀσίαν· ἐνταῦθα δ' ἔχων ἰδιόξενον, ὄνομα μὲν
Λυσιθείδην, δόξῃ δὲ καὶ πλούτῳ θαυμαζόμενον,
πρὸς τοῦτον κατέφυγεν.

5 Ὁ δὲ Λυσιθείδης ἐτύγχανε φίλος ὢν Ξέρξου τοῦ
βασιλέως καὶ κατὰ τὴν διάβασιν τοῦ Ξέρξου τὴν
δύναμιν τῶν Περσῶν ἅπασαν εἱστιακώς. διόπερ
συνήθειαν μὲν ἔχων πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, τὸν δὲ
Θεμιστοκλέα διὰ τὸν ἔλεον σῶσαι βουλόμενος, ἐπ-
6 ηγγείλατο αὐτῷ πάντα συμπράξειν. ἀξιοῦντος δὲ
τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ἀγαγεῖν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν Ξέρξην,
τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀντεῖπεν, ἀποφαινόμενος ὅτι κολα-
σθήσεται διὰ τὰς κατὰ τῶν Περσῶν αὐτῷ γεγενη-
μένας πράξεις, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα μαθὼν τὸ συμφέρον
ὑπήκουσε, καὶ παραδόξως καὶ ἀσφαλῶς αὐτὸν
7 διέσωσεν εἰς τὴν Περσίδα. ἔθους γὰρ ὄντος παρὰ
τοῖς Πέρσαις τὸν ἄγοντα παλλακὴν τῷ βασιλεῖ
κομίζειν ταύτην ἐπὶ ἀπήνης κεκρυμμένης καὶ τῶν
ἀπαντώντων μηδένα πολυπραγμονεῖν μηδὲ κατ'
ὄψιν ἀπαντῆσαι τῇ ἀγομένῃ, ἀφορμῇ ταύτῃ συνέβη
χρήσασθαι πρὸς τὴν ἐπιβολὴν τὸν Λυσιθείδην.
8 παρασκευασάμενος γὰρ τὴν ἀπήνην πολυτελέσι
παραπετάσμασι κεκοσμημένην, εἰς ταύτην ἐνέθηκε

by night out of the territory of the Molossians, the king furthering his flight in every way; and finding two young men, Lyncestians by birth, who were traders and therefore familiar with the roads, he made his escape in their company. By travelling only at night he eluded the Lacedaemonians, and by virtue of the goodwill of the young men and the hardship they endured for him he made his way to Asia. Here Themistocles had a personal friend, Lysitheides by name, who was highly regarded for his fame and wealth, and to him he fled for refuge.

Now it so happened that Lysitheides was a friend of Xerxes the king and on the occasion of his passage through Asia Minor had entertained the entire Persian host.[1] Consequently, since he enjoyed an intimate acquaintance with the king and yet wished out of mercy to save Themistocles, he promised to co-operate with him in every way. But when Themistocles asked that he lead him to Xerxes, at first he demurred, explaining that Themistocles would be punished because of his past activities against the Persians; later, however, when he realized that it was for the best, he acceded, and unexpectedly and without harm he got him through safe to Persia. For it was a custom among the Persians that when one conducted a concubine to the king one brought her in a closed wagon, and no man who met it interfered or came face to face with the passenger; and it came about that Lysitheides availed himself of this means of carrying out his undertaking. After preparing the wagon and embellishing it with costly hangings he put Themistocles in it; and when he

[1] Plutarch (*Themistocles*, 26) calls him Nicogenes; the man who entertained Xerxes' army is named Pythius by Herodotus (7. 27); Thucydides does not mention him.

τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, καὶ μετὰ πάσης ἀσφαλείας διασώσας ἐνέτυχε τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ πεφυλαγμένως ὁμιλήσας ἔλαβε παρ' αὐτοῦ πίστεις μηδὲν ἀδικήσειν τὸν ἄνδρα. εἰσαγαγὼν δὲ αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, κἀκείνου δόντος τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ λόγον καὶ μαθόντος ὡς οὐδὲν ἠδίκησεν, ἀπελύθη τῆς τιμωρίας.

57. Δόξας δὲ παραδόξως ὑπ' ἐχθροῦ διασεσῶσθαι, πάλιν εἰς μείζονας κινδύνους ἐνέπεσε διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας· Μανδάνη Δαρείου μὲν ἦν θυγάτηρ τοῦ φονεύσαντος τοὺς μάγους, ἀδελφὴ δὲ γνησία τοῦ Ξέρξου, μεγίστης δ' ἀποδοχῆς τυγχάνουσα παρὰ
2 τοῖς Πέρσαις. αὕτη τῶν υἱῶν ἐστερημένη καθ' ὃν καιρὸν Θεμιστοκλῆς περὶ Σαλαμῖνα κατεναυμάχησε τὸν στόλον τῶν Περσῶν, χαλεπῶς ἔφερε τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν τέκνων, καὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς συμφο-
3 ρᾶς ἠλεεῖτο παρὰ τοῖς πλήθεσιν. αὕτη πυθομένη τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ἦλθεν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια πενθίμην ἐσθῆτα λαβοῦσα καὶ μετὰ δακρύων ἱκέτευε τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπιθεῖναι τιμωρίαν τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ. ὡς δ' οὐ προσεῖχεν αὐτῇ, περιῄει τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν Περσῶν ἀξιοῦσα καὶ καθόλου τὰ πλήθη παροξύνουσα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Θεμιστο-
4 κλέους τιμωρίαν. τοῦ δ' ὄχλου συνδραμόντος ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια καὶ μετὰ κραυγῆς ἐξαιτοῦντος ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἀπεκρίνατο δικαστήριον καταστήσειν ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων
5 Περσῶν, καὶ τὸ κριθὲν τεύξεσθαι συντελείας· πάντων δὲ συνευδοκησάντων, καὶ δοθέντος ἱκανοῦ χρόνου εἰς τὴν παρασκευὴν τῆς κρίσεως, ὁ μὲν Θεμιστοκλῆς μαθὼν τὴν Περσίδα διάλεκτον, καὶ ταύτῃ χρησάμενος κατὰ τὴν ἀπολογίαν, ἀπελύθη

[1] Darius the Great.

had got him through in entire safety, he came into the presence of the king, and after he had conversed with him cautiously he received pledges from the king that he would do Themistocles no wrong. Then Lysitheides introduced him to the presence of the king, who, when he had allowed Themistocles to speak and learned that he had done the king no wrong, absolved him from punishment.

57. But when it seemed that the life of Themistocles had unexpectedly been saved by an enemy, he fell again into even greater dangers for the following reasons. Mandanê was the daughter of the Darius [1] who had slain the Magi and the full sister of Xerxes, and she enjoyed high esteem among the Persians. She had lost her sons at the time Themistocles had defeated the Persian fleet in the sea-battle at Salamis and sorely grieved over the death of her children, and because of her great affliction she was the object of the pity of the people. When she learned of the presence of Themistocles, she went to the palace clad in raiment of mourning and with tears entreated her brother to wreak vengeance upon Themistocles. And when the king paid no heed to her, she visited in turn the noblest Persians with her request and, speaking generally, spurred on the people to vengeance upon Themistocles. When the mob rushed to the palace and with loud shouts demanded the person of Themistocles for punishment, the king replied that he would form a jury of the noblest Persians and that its verdict would be carried out. This decision was approved by all, and since a considerable time was given to make the preparations for the trial, Themistocles meanwhile learned the Persian language, and using it in his

6 τῶν ἐγκλημάτων. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς περιχαρὴς γενό-
μενος ἐπὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τἀνδρὸς μεγάλαις αὐτὸν
δωρεαῖς ἐτίμησε· γυναῖκα γὰρ αὐτῷ πρὸς γάμου
κοινωνίαν ἔζευξε Περσίδα, εὐγενείᾳ τε καὶ κάλλει
διαφέρουσαν, ἔτι δὲ κατ' ἀρετὴν ἐπαινουμένην,
οἰκετῶν τε πλῆθος . . .[1] πρὸς διακονίαν καὶ παντο-
δαπῶν ἐκπωμάτων καὶ τὴν ἄλλην χορηγίαν πρὸς
7 ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ τρυφὴν ἁρμόζουσαν. ἐδωρήσατο δ'
αὐτῷ καὶ πόλεις τρεῖς πρὸς διατροφὴν καὶ ἀπόλαυ-
σιν εὐθέτους, Μαγνησίαν μὲν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ Μαιάνδρῳ,
πλεῖστον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν πόλεων ἔχουσαν
σῖτον, εἰς ἄρτους, Μυοῦντα δὲ εἰς ὄψον, ἔχουσαν
θάλατταν εὔιχθυν, Λάμψακον δέ, ἀμπελόφυτον
ἔχουσαν χώραν πολλήν, εἰς οἶνον.

58. Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν οὖν ἀπολυθεὶς τοῦ παρ'
Ἕλλησι φόβου, καὶ παραδόξως ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν τὰ
μέγιστα εὐεργετηθέντων φυγαδευθείς, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν
τὰ δεινότατα παθόντων εὐεργετηθείς, ἐν ταύταις
ταῖς πόλεσι κατεβίωσε πάντων τῶν[2] πρὸς ἀπό-
λαυσιν ἀγαθῶν εὐπορούμενος, καὶ τελευτήσας ἐν
τῇ Μαγνησίᾳ ταφῆς ἔτυχεν ἀξιολόγου καὶ μνημείου
2 τοῦ ἔτι νῦν διαμένοντος. ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν συγγραφέων
φασὶ τὸν Ξέρξην ἐπιθυμήσαντα πάλιν στρατεύειν
ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα παρακαλεῖν τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα στρα-
τηγεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου, τὸν δὲ συγχωρήσαντα περὶ
τούτων πίστεις λαβεῖν ἐνόρκους μὴ στρατεύσειν
3 ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἄνευ Θεμιστοκλέους. σφαγια-

[1] Capps suggests that a participle, *e.g.* ἐπιφερομένην, has fallen out of the text.

[2] τῶν added by Dindorf.

defence he was acquitted of the charges. And the king was overjoyed that Themistocles had been saved and honoured him with great gifts; so, for example, he gave him in marriage a Persian woman, who was of outstanding birth and beauty and, besides, praised for her virtue, and [she brought as her dower] not only a multitude of household slaves for their service but also of drinking-cups of every kind and such other furnishings as comport with a life of pleasure and luxury.[1] Furthermore, the king made him a present also of three cities which were well suited for his support and enjoyment, Magnesia upon the Maeander River, which had more grain than any city of Asia, for bread, Myus for meat, since the sea there abounded in fish, and Lampsacus, whose territory contained extensive vineyards, for wine.

58. Themistocles, being now relieved of the fear which he had felt when among Greeks, the man who had unexpectedly, on the one hand, been driven into exile by those who had profited most by the benefits he had bestowed and, on the other, had received benefits from those who had suffered the most grievously at his hands, spent his life in the cities we have mentioned, being well supplied with all the good things that conduce to pleasure, and at his death he was given a notable funeral in Magnesia and a monument that stands even to this day. Some historians say that Xerxes, desiring to lead a second expedition against Greece, invited Themistocles to take command of the war, and that he agreed to do so and received from the king guaranties under oath that he would not march against the Greeks without

[1] This marriage of Themistocles to a noble Persian lady is attested only by Diodorus and is almost certainly fictitious.

σθέντος δὲ ταύρου καὶ τῶν ὅρκων γενομένων, τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα κύλικα τοῦ αἵματος πληρώσαντα ἐκπιεῖν καὶ παραχρῆμα τελευτῆσαι. καὶ τὸν μὲν Ξέρξην ἀποστῆναι τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ταύτης, τὸν δὲ Θεμιστοκλέα διὰ τῆς ἰδίας τελευτῆς ἀπολογίαν ἀπολιπεῖν καλλίστην ὅτι καλῶς ἐπολιτεύθη τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

4 Ἡμεῖς δὲ πάρεσμεν ἐπὶ τὴν τελευτὴν ἀνδρὸς μεγίστου τῶν Ἑλλήνων, περὶ οὗ πολλοὶ διαμφισβητοῦσι πότερον οὗτος ἀδικήσας τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας ἔφυγεν εἰς Πέρσας, ἢ τοὐναντίον ἥ τε πόλις καὶ πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες εὐεργετηθέντες μεγάλα τῆς μὲν χάριτος ἐπελάθοντο, τὸν δ' εὐεργέτην ἤγαγον αὐτὸν[1] ἀδίκως εἰς τοὺς
5 ἐσχάτους κινδύνους. εἰ δέ τις χωρὶς φθόνου τήν τε φύσιν τἀνδρὸς καὶ τὰς πράξεις ἐξετάζοι μετ' ἀκριβείας, εὑρήσει πάντων ὧν μνημονεύομεν ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς εἰρημένοις πεπρωτευκότα. διὸ καὶ θαυμάσειεν ἄν τις εἰκότως εἰ στερῆσαι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀνδρὸς τοιούτου τὴν φύσιν ἠθέλησαν.

59. Τίς γὰρ ἕτερος, τῆς Σπάρτης πλέον ἰσχυούσης καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχοντος Εὐρυβιάδου τοῦ Σπαρτιάτου, ταῖς ἰδίαις πράξεσιν ἀφείλετ' ἂν[2] τῆς Σπάρτης ταύτην τὴν δόξαν; τίνα δ' ἄλλον ἱστορήκαμεν μιᾷ πράξει ποιήσαντα διενεγκεῖν αὐτὸν μὲν τῶν ἡγεμόνων, τὴν δὲ πόλιν τῶι Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, τοὺς δ' Ἕλληνας τῶν βαρβάρων; ἐπὶ τίνος δὲ στρατηγοῦντος ἐλάττονας ἀφορμὰς ἢ μείζονας κινδύνους συνέβη γενέσθαι;
2 τίς δὲ πρὸς ἅπασαν τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας δύναμιν

[1] αὐτῶν P, αὐτὸν other MSS., deleted by Dindorf and Vogel.
[2] ἂν added by Capps.

Themistocles. And when a bull had been sacrificed and the oaths taken, Themistocles, filling a cup with its blood, drank it down and immediately died. They add that Xerxes thereupon relinquished that plan of his, and that Themistocles by his voluntary death left the best possible defence that he had played the part of a good citizen in all matters affecting the interests of Greece.

We have come to the death of one of the greatest of the Greeks, about whom many dispute whether it was because he had wronged his native city and the other Greeks that he fled to the Persians, or whether, on the contrary, his city and all the Greeks, after enjoying great benefits at his hands, forgot to be grateful for them but unjustly plunged him, their benefactor, into the uttermost perils. But if any man, putting envy aside, will estimate closely not only the man's natural gifts but also his achievements, he will find that on both counts Themistocles holds first place among all of whom we have record. Therefore one may well be amazed that the Athenians were willing to rid themselves of a man of such genius.

59. What other man, while Sparta still had the superior strength and the Spartan Eurybiades held the supreme command of the fleet, could by his singlehanded efforts have deprived Sparta of that glory? Of what other man have we learned from history that by a single act he caused himself to surpass all the commanders, his city all the other Greek states, and the Greeks the barbarians? In whose term as general have the resources been more inferior and the dangers they faced greater? Who, facing the united might of all Asia, has found

ἀναστάτῳ τῇ πόλει παραταχθεὶς ἐνίκησε; τίς δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὴν πατρίδα δυνατὴν κατεσκεύασε τοιούτοις; τίς δὲ πολέμου μεγίστου κατασχόντος αὐτὴν διέσωσε, μιᾷ δ' ἐπινοίᾳ τῇ περὶ τοῦ ζεύγματος γενομένῃ τὴν πεζὴν τῶν πολεμίων δύναμιν ἐξ ἡμίσους μέρους ἐταπείνωσεν, ὥστ'
3 εὐχείρωτον γενέσθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησι; διόπερ ὅταν τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ θεωρήσωμεν, καὶ σκοποῦντες τὰ κατὰ μέρος εὕρωμεν ἐκεῖνον μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἠτιμασμένον, τὴν δὲ πόλιν διὰ τὰς ἐκείνου πράξεις ἐπαιρομένην, εἰκότως τὴν δοκοῦσαν εἶναι τῶν ἁπασῶν πόλεων σοφωτάτην καὶ ἐπιεικεστάτην χαλεπωτάτην πρὸς ἐκεῖνον εὑρίσκομεν γεγενημένην.

4 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς Θεμιστοκλέους ἀρετῆς εἰ καὶ πεπλεονάκαμεν παρεκβάντες, ἀλλ' οὖν οὐκ ἄξιον ἐκρίναμεν τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ παραλιπεῖν ἀνεπισήμαντον.

Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν Μίκυθος ὁ τὴν δυναστείαν ἔχων Ῥηγίου καὶ Ζάγκλης πόλιν ἔκτισε Πυξοῦντα.

60. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Δημοτίωνος Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ὑπάτους κατέστησαν Πούπλιον Οὐαλέριον Ποπλικόλαν καὶ Γάιον Ναύτιον Ῥοῦφον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἀθηναῖοι στρατηγὸν ἑλόμενοι Κίμωνα τὸν Μιλτιάδου καὶ δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον παραδόντες, ἐξέπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὴν παράλιον τῆς Ἀσίας βοηθήσοντα μὲν ταῖς συμμαχούσαις πόλεσιν, ἐλευθερώσοντα δὲ
2 τὰς[1] Περσικαῖς ἔτι φρουραῖς κατεχομένας. οὗτος

[1] τὰς Reiske: ταῖς.

himself at the side of his city when its inhabitants had been driven from their homes,[1] and still won the victory? Who in time of peace has made his fatherland powerful by deeds comparable to his? Who, when a gigantic war enveloped his state, brought it safely through and by the one single ruse of the bridge[2] reduced the land armament of the enemy by half, so that it could be easily vanquished by the Greeks? Consequently, when we survey the magnitude of his deeds and, examining them one by one, find that such a man suffered disgrace at the hands of his city, whereas it was by his deeds that the city rose to greatness, we have good reason to conclude that the city which is reputed to rank highest among all cities in wisdom and fair-dealing acted towards him with great cruelty.

Now on the subject of the high merits of Themistocles, even if we have dwelt over-long on the subject in this digression, we believed it not seemly that we should leave his great ability unrecorded.

While these events were taking place, in Italy Micythus, who was ruler of Rhegium and Zanclê, founded the city of Pyxus.

60. When Demotion was archon in Athens, the 470 B.C.
Romans elected as consuls Publius Valerius Publicola and Gaius Nautius Rufus. In this year the Athenians, electing as general Cimon the son of Miltiades and giving him a strong force, sent him to the coast of Asia to give aid to the cities which were allied with them and to liberate those which were still held by Persian garrisons. And Cimon, taking along the fleet

[1] The Athenians all took refuge on the island of Salamis after the Persians had passed Thermopylae; cp. chap. 13. 3 f.
[2] Cp. chap. 19. 5-6.

δὲ παραλαβὼν τὸν στόλον ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, καὶ[1] καταπλεύσας ἐπὶ πόλιν τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Ἠιόνα, ταύτην μὲν Περσῶν κατεχόντων ἐχειρώσατο, Σκῦρον δὲ Πελασγῶν ἐνοικούντων καὶ Δολόπων ἐξεπολιόρκησε, καὶ κτίστην Ἀθηναῖον καταστήσας κατ-
3 εκληρούχησε τὴν χώραν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα μειζόνων πράξεων ἄρξασθαι διανοούμενος, κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, καὶ προσλαβόμενος πλείους τριήρεις καὶ τὴν ἄλλην χορηγίαν ἀξιόλογον παρασκευασάμενος, τότε μὲν ἐξέπλευσεν ἔχων τριήρεις διακοσίας, ὕστερον δὲ μεταπεμψάμενος παρὰ τῶν Ἰώνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων τὰς ἁπάσας εἶχε τριακο-
4 σίας. πλεύσας οὖν μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στόλου πρὸς τὴν Καρίαν, τῶν παραθαλαττίων πόλεων ὅσαι μὲν ἦσαν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπῳκισμέναι, ταύτας παραχρῆμα συνέπεισεν ἀποστῆναι τῶν Περσῶν, ὅσαι δ' ὑπῆρχον δίγλωττοι καὶ φρουρὰς ἔχουσαι Περσικάς, βίαν προσάγων ἐπολιόρκει. προσαγαγόμενος[2] δὲ τὰς κατὰ τὴν Καρίαν πόλεις, ὁμοίως καὶ τὰς ἐν
5 τῇ Λυκίᾳ πείσας προσελάβετο. παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἀεὶ προστιθεμένων συμμάχων προσλαβόμενος ναῦς ἐπὶ πλέον ηὔξησε τὸν στόλον.

Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι τὸ μὲν πεζὸν στράτευμα δι' ἑαυτῶν κατεσκεύασαν, τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν ἤθροισαν ἔκ τε Φοινίκης καὶ Κύπρου καὶ Κιλικίας· ἐστρατήγει δὲ τῶν Περσικῶν δυνάμεων Τιθραύστης, υἱὸς ὢν Ξέρ-
6 ξου νόθος. Κίμων δὲ πυνθανόμενος τὸν στόλον τῶν

[1] So Reiske: καὶ ἐν Βυζ. καταπλεύσας.
[2] So Eichstädt: προσαγόμενος.

[1] In describing the successes of Cimon, Diodorus has compressed the events of some ten years into one; Eïon was taken in 476 B.C. and the battle of the Eurymedon took place in 467 or 466 B.C.

which was at Byzantium and putting in at the city which is called Eïon,[1] took it from the Persians who were holding it and captured by siege Scyros, which was inhabited by Pelasgians and Dolopes; and setting up an Athenian as the founder of a colony he portioned out the land in allotments.[2] After this, with a mind to begin greater enterprises, he put in at the Peiraeus, and after adding more triremes to his fleet and arranging for general supplies on a notable scale, he at that time put to sea with two hundred triremes; but later, when he had called for additional ships from the Ionians and everyone else, he had in all three hundred. So sailing with the entire fleet to Caria he at once succeeded in persuading the cities on the coast which had been settled from Greece to revolt from the Persians, but as for the cities whose inhabitants spoke two languages[3] and still had Persian garrisons, he had recourse to force and laid siege to them; then, after he had brought over to his side the cities of Caria, he likewise won over by persuasion those of Lycia. Also, by taking additional ships from the allies, who were continually being added, he still further increased the size of his fleet.

Now the Persians had composed their land forces from their own peoples, but their navy they had gathered from both Phoenicia and Cyprus and Cilicia, and the commander of the Persian armaments was Tithraustes, who was an illegitimate son of Xerxes. And when Cimon learned that the Persian fleet was

[2] This was an Athenian cleruchy, which differed from a colony in that the cleruchists did not lose their Athenian citizenship and did not necessarily reside on their allotments.
[3] It is to be presumed that Greek was their second language and so they were non-Greek or at least mixed in race.

Περσῶν διατρίβειν περὶ τὴν Κύπρον, καὶ πλεύσας ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἐναυμάχησε διακοσίαις καὶ πεντήκοντα ναυσὶ πρὸς τριακοσίας καὶ τετταράκοντα. γενομένου δ' ἀγῶνος ἰσχυροῦ καὶ τῶν στόλων ἀμφοτέρων λαμπρῶς ἀγωνιζομένων, τὸ τελευταῖον ἐνίκων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ πολλὰς μὲν τῶν ἐναντίων ναῦς διέφθειραν, πλείους δὲ τῶν
7 ἑκατὸν σὺν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀνδράσιν εἷλον. τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν νεῶν καταφυγουσῶν εἰς τὴν Κύπρον, οἱ μὲν ἐν αὐταῖς ἄνδρες εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀπεχώρησαν, αἱ δὲ νῆες κεναὶ τῶν βοηθούντων οὖσαι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐγενήθησαν ὑποχείριοι.

61. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ μὲν Κίμων οὐκ ἀρκεσθεὶς τηλικαύτῃ νίκῃ παραχρῆμα παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ προσκατῆρεν ἐπὶ τὸ πεζὸν τῶν Περσῶν στρατόπεδον, οὔσης τῆς παρεμβολῆς παρὰ τὸν Εὐρυμέδοντα ποταμόν. βουλόμενος δὲ καταστρατηγῆσαι τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἐνεβίβασεν εἰς τὰς αἰχμαλωτίδας ναῦς τῶν ἰδίων τοὺς ἀρίστους, δοὺς τιάρας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην
2 κατασκευὴν περιθεὶς Περσικήν. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι προσπλέοντος ἄρτι τοῦ στόλου ταῖς Περσικαῖς ναυσὶ καὶ παρασκευαῖς ψευσθέντες ὑπέλαβον τὰς ἰδίας τριήρεις εἶναι. διόπερ οὗτοι μὲν προσεδέξαντο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὡς φίλους ὄντας, ὁ δὲ Κίμων ἤδη νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης ἐκβιβάσας τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ προσδεχθεὶς ὡς φίλος ὑπ' αὐτῶν, εἰσέπεσεν εἰς
3 τὴν στρατοπεδείαν τῶν βαρβάρων. ταραχῆς δὲ μεγάλης γενομένης παρὰ τοῖς Πέρσαις, οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Κίμωνα πάντας τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ἔκτειναν, καὶ τὸν μὲν στρατηγὸν τῶν βαρβάρων τὸν ἕτερον Φερενδάτην, ἀδελφιδοῦν τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ καταλαβόντες ἐφόνευσαν, τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὓς μὲν

lying off Cyprus, sailing against the barbarians he engaged them in battle, pitting two hundred and fifty ships against three hundred and forty. A sharp struggle took place and both fleets fought brilliantly, but in the end the Athenians were victorious, having destroyed many of the enemy ships and captured more than one hundred together with their crews. The rest of the ships escaped to Cyprus, where their crews left them and took to the land, and the ships, being bare of defenders, fell into the hands of the enemy.

61. Thereupon Cimon, not satisfied with a victory of such magnitude, set sail at once with his entire fleet against the Persian land army, which was then encamped on the bank of the Eurymedon River.[1] And wishing to overcome the barbarians by a stratagem, he manned the captured Persian ships with his own best men, giving them tiaras for their heads and clothing them in the Persian fashion generally. The barbarians, so soon as the fleet approached them, were deceived by the Persian ships and garb and supposed the triremes to be their own. Consequently they received the Athenians as if they were friends. And Cimon, night having fallen, disembarked his soldiers, and being received by the Persians as a friend, he fell upon their encampment. A great tumult arose among the Persians, and the soldiers of Cimon cut down all who came in their way, and seizing in his tent Pherendates, one of the two generals of the barbarians and a nephew of the king, they slew him; and as for the rest of the Persians, some they cut down and others

[1] In Pisidia, at least 125 miles from Cyprus.

ἔκτεινον, οὓς δὲ κατετραυμάτιζον, πάντας δὲ διὰ
τὸ παράδοξον τῆς ἐπιθέσεως φεύγειν ἠνάγκασαν,
καθόλου δ' ἔκπληξις ἅμα καὶ ἄγνοια τοιαύτη
κατεῖχε τοὺς Πέρσας, ὥσθ' οἱ πλείους τοὺς ἐπι-
τιθεμένους αὐτοῖς οἵτινες ἦσαν οὐκ ἐγίνωσκον.
4 τοὺς μὲν γὰρ Ἕλληνας οὐχ ὑπελάμβανον ἥκειν
πρὸς αὐτοὺς μετὰ δυνάμεως, τὸ σύνολον μηδ' ἔχειν
αὐτοὺς πεζὴν στρατιὰν πεπεισμένοι· τοὺς δὲ Πισί-
δας, ὄντας ὁμόρους καὶ τὰ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀλλοτρίως
ἔχοντας, ὑπελάμβανον ἥκειν μετὰ δυνάμεως. διὸ
καὶ νομίσαντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἠπείρου τὴν ἐπιφορὰν εἶναι
τῶν πολεμίων, πρὸς τὰς ναῦς ὡς πρὸς φιλίας
5 ἔφευγον. τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς οὔσης ἀσελήνου καὶ σκο-
τεινῆς συνέβαινε τὴν ἄγνοιαν πολὺ μᾶλλον αὔξεσθαι
6 καὶ μηδένα τἀληθὲς δύνασθαι ἰδεῖν. διὸ καὶ πολλοῦ
φόνου γενομένου διὰ τὴν ἀταξίαν τῶν βαρβάρων,
ὁ μὲν Κίμων προειρηκὼς τοῖς στρατιώταις πρὸς
τὸν ἀρθησόμενον πυρσὸν συντρέχειν, ἦρε πρὸς ταῖς
ναυσὶ σύσσημον, εὐλαβούμενος μὴ διεσπαρμένων
τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ πρὸς ἁρπαγὴν ὁρμησάντων
7 γένηταί τι παράλογον. πάντων δὲ πρὸς τὸν πυρσὸν
ἀθροισθέντων καὶ παυσαμένων τῆς ἁρπαγῆς, τότε
μὲν εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἀπεχώρησαν, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ τρόπαι-
ον στήσαντες ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν Κύπρον, νενικη-
κότες δύο καλλίστας νίκας, τὴν μὲν κατὰ γῆν,
τὴν δὲ κατὰ θάλατταν· οὐδέπω γὰρ μνημονεύονται
τοιαῦται καὶ τηλικαῦται πράξεις γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν
αὐτὴν ἡμέραν καὶ ναυτικῷ καὶ πεζῷ στρατοπέδῳ.

62. Κίμων δὲ διὰ τῆς ἰδίας στρατηγίας καὶ ἀρετῆς μεγάλα κατωρθωκώς, περιβόητον ἔσχε τὴν

they wounded, and all of them, because of the unexpectedness of the attack, they forced to take flight. In a word, such consternation as well as bewilderment prevailed among the Persians that most of them did not even know who it was that was attacking them. For they had no idea that the Greeks had come against them in force, being persuaded that they had no land army at all; and they assumed that it was the Pisidians, who dwelt in neighbouring territory and were hostile to them, who had come to attack them. Consequently, thinking that the attack of the enemy was coming from the mainland, they fled to their ships in the belief they were in friendly hands. And since it was a dark night without a moon, their bewilderment was increased all the more and not a man was able to discern the true state of affairs. Consequently, after a great slaughter had occurred on account of the disorder among the barbarians, Cimon, who had previously given orders to the soldiers to come running to the torch which would be raised, had the signal raised beside the ships, being anxious lest, if the soldiers should scatter and turn to plundering, some miscarriage of his plans might occur. And when the soldiers had all been gathered at the torch and had stopped plundering, for the time being they withdrew to the ships, and on the following day they set up a trophy and then sailed back to Cyprus, having won two glorious victories, the one on land and the other on the sea; for not to this day has history recorded the occurrence of so unusual and so important actions on the same day by a host that fought both afloat and on land.

62. After Cimon had won these great successes by means of his own skill as general and his valour, his

δόξαν οὐ μόνον παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησιν. αἰχμαλώτους γὰρ εἰλήφει[1] τριακοσίας καὶ τετταράκοντα ναῦς, ἄνδρας δὲ ὑπὲρ τοὺς δισμυρίους, χρημάτων δὲ πλῆθος ἀξιόλογον.
2 οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι τηλικούτοις ἐλαττώμασι περιπεπτωκότες ἄλλας τριήρεις πλείους κατεσκεύασαν, φοβούμενοι τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων αὔξησιν. ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων τῶν χρόνων ἡ πόλις τῶν Ἀθηναίων πολλὴν ἐπίδοσιν ἐλάμβανε, χρημάτων τε πλήθει κατασκευασθεῖσα καὶ δόξης μεγάλης ἐν ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ στρατηγίᾳ τυχοῦσα.
3 ὁ δὲ δῆμος τῶν Ἀθηναίων δεκάτην ἐξελόμενος ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων ἀνέθηκε τῷ θεῷ, καὶ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ἐπὶ τὸ κατασκευασθὲν ἀνάθημα ἐνέγραψε τήνδε,

ἐξ οὗ γ' Εὐρώπην Ἀσίας δίχα πόντος ἔνειμε
καὶ πόλιας θνητῶν θοῦρος Ἄρης ἐπέχει,
οὐδέν πω τοιοῦτον ἐπιχθονίων γένετ' ἀνδρῶν
ἔργον ἐν ἠπείρῳ καὶ κατὰ πόντον ἅμα.
οἵδε γὰρ ἐν Κύπρῳ Μήδους πολλοὺς ὀλέσαντες
Φοινίκων ἑκατὸν ναῦς ἕλον ἐν πελάγει
ἀνδρῶν πληθούσας, μέγα δ' ἔστενεν Ἀσὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν
πληγεῖσ' ἀμφοτέραις χερσὶ κράτει πολέμου.[2]

[1] τριήρεις after εἰλήφει deleted by Vogel; Dindorf prefers to delete ναῦς. [2] κραταιπολέμοις Edmonds.

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[1] The inscription is attributed to Simonides (frag. 103 Diehl; 171 Edmonds).

[2] "To do a thing with both hands was to do it earnestly and thoroughly; there is a double intention here, the hands being also 'arms' military and naval" (Edmonds).

[3] The contents of the three preceding chapters reveal Diodorus in the worst light. The inscription referred to a battle off Cyprus in 449 B.C. and had nothing to do with the battle of the Eurymedon, and Cimon could not have fought at Cyprus in the day and been at the Eurymedon in time to land his men by nightfall. Moreover, great generals do not win battles by such comic-opera stratagems. The reliable description of the battle is in Plutarch, *Cimon*, 12-13. See E. Meyer, *Forschungen*, 2, pp. 7 ff.; Walker in *Camb. Anc. Hist.* 5, pp. 54 ff.

fame was noised abroad not only among his fellow citizens but among all other Greeks as well. For he had captured three hundred and forty ships, more than twenty thousand men, and a considerable sum of money. But the Persians, having met with so great reverses, built other triremes in greater number, since they feared the growing might of the Athenians. For from this time the Athenian state kept receiving significant enhancement of its power, supplied as it was with an abundance of funds and having attained to great renown for courage and for able leadership in war. And the Athenian people, taking a tenth part of the booty, dedicated it to the god, and the inscription which they wrote upon the dedication they made ran as follows[1]:

E'en from the day when the sea divided Europe from Asia,
And the impetuous god, Ares, the cities of men
Took for his own, no deed such as this among earth-dwelling mortals
Ever was wrought at one time both upon land and at sea.
These men indeed upon Cyprus sent many a Mede to destruction,
Capturing out on the sea warships a hundred in sum
Filled with Phoenician men; and deeply all Asia grieved o'er them,
Smitten thus with both[2] hands, vanquished by war's mighty power.[3]

63. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράχθη κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνι-
αυτόν.
Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Φαίωνος ἐν Ῥώμῃ
τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν διεδέξαντο Λεύκιος Φούριος
Μεδιολανὸς καὶ Μάρκος Μανίλιος Οὐάσων. ἐπὶ δὲ
τούτων μεγάλη τις καὶ παράδοξος ἐγένετο συμφορὰ
τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις· ἐν γὰρ τῇ Σπάρτῃ γενομένων
σεισμῶν μεγάλων συνέβη πεσεῖν τὰς οἰκίας ἐκ
θεμελίων καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πλείους τῶν δισ-
2 μυρίων φθαρῆναι. ἐπὶ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον συνεχῶς
τῆς πόλεως καταφερομένης καὶ τῶν οἰκιῶν πιπτου-
σῶν πολλὰ σώματα τοῖς πτώμασι τῶν τοίχων ἀπο-
λαμβανόμενα διεφθάρη, οὐκ ὀλίγον δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὰς
3 οἰκίας χρημάτων ὁ σεισμὸς ἐλυμήνατο. καὶ τοῦτο
μὲν τὸ κακὸν ὥσπερ δαιμονίου τινὸς νεμεσήσαντος
αὐτοῖς ἔπαθον, ἄλλους δὲ κινδύνους ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων
4 αὐτοῖς συνέβη γενέσθαι διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας. Εἵ-
λωτες καὶ Μεσσήνιοι πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀλλο-
τρίως ἔχοντες τὸ μὲν πρὸ τοῦ[1] ἡσυχίαν εἶχον,
φοβούμενοι τὴν τῆς Σπάρτης ὑπεροχήν τε καὶ δύνα-
μιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ διὰ τὸν σεισμὸν ἑώρων τοὺς πλείους
αὐτῶν ἀπολωλότας, κατεφρόνησαν τῶν ἀπολελειμ-
μένων, ὀλίγων ὄντων. διόπερ πρὸς ἀλλήλους συν-
θέμενοι κοινῇ τὸν πόλεμον ἐξήνεγκαν τὸν πρὸς τοὺς
5 Λακεδαιμονίους. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων
Ἀρχίδαμος διὰ τῆς ἰδίας προνοίας καὶ κατὰ τὸν
σεισμὸν ἔσωζε τοὺς πολίτας καὶ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον
6 γενναίως τοῖς ἐπιτιθεμένοις ἀντετάξατο. τῆς μὲν
γὰρ πόλεως συνεχομένης ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ σεισμοῦ
δεινότητος πρῶτος Σπαρτιατῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἁρ-
πάσας τὴν πανοπλίαν ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἐξεπήδησε,

[1] So Bekker: πρῶτον.

63. Such, then, were the events of this year.

When Phaeon was archon in Athens, in Rome the 469 B.C.
consulship was taken over by Lucius Furius Mediolanus and Marcus Manilius Vaso. During this year[1] a great and incredible catastrophe befell the Lacedaemonians; for great earthquakes occurred in Sparta, and as a result the houses collapsed from their foundations and more than twenty thousand Lacedaemonians perished. And since the tumbling down of the city and the falling in of the houses continued uninterruptedly over a long period, many persons were caught and crushed in the collapse of the walls and no little household property was ruined by the quake. And although they suffered this disaster because some god, as it were, was wreaking his anger upon them, it so happened that other dangers befell them at the hands of men for the following reasons. The Helots and Messenians, although enemies of the Lacedaemonians, had remained quiet up to this time, since they stood in fear of the eminent position and power of Sparta; but when they observed that the larger part of them had perished because of the earthquake, they held in contempt the survivors, who were few. Consequently they came to an agreement with each other and joined together in the war against the Lacedaemonians. The king of the Lacedaemonians, Archidamus, by his personal foresight not only was the saviour of his fellow citizens even during the earthquake, but in the course of the war also he bravely fought the aggressors. For instance, when the terrible earthquake struck Sparta, he was the first Spartan to seize his armour and hasten from the

[1] The correct date is 464 B.C.

καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πολίταις τὸ αὐτὸ πράττειν παρ-
7 ήγγειλεν. ὑπακουσάντων δὲ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον οἱ περιλειφθέντες ἐσώθησαν, οὓς συντάξας ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀρχίδαμος παρεσκευάζετο πολεμεῖν τοῖς ἀφεστηκόσιν.

64. Οἱ δὲ Μεσσήνιοι μετὰ τῶν Εἱλώτων συνταχθέντες τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Σπάρτην, ὑπολαμβάνοντες αὐτὴν αἱρήσειν διὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν τῶν βοηθησόντων· ὡς δ' ἤκουσαν τοὺς ὑπολελειμμένους μετ' Ἀρχιδάμου τοῦ βασιλέως συντεταγμένους ἑτοίμους εἶναι πρὸς τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀγῶνα, ταύτης μὲν τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ἀπέστησαν, καταλαβόμενοι δὲ τῆς Μεσσηνίας χωρίον ὀχυρόν, ἐκ τούτου τὴν ὁρμὴν ποιούμενοι κατέτρεχον τὴν
2 Λακωνικήν. οἱ δὲ Σπαρτιᾶται καταφυγόντες ἐπὶ τὴν παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων βοήθειαν προσελάβοντο παρ' αὐτῶν δύναμιν· οὐδὲν δ' ἧττον καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἀθροίσαντες δυνάμεις ἀξιόμαχοι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐγενήθησαν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πολὺ προεῖχον τῶν πολεμίων, ὕστερον δὲ ὑποψίας γενομένης ὡς τῶν Ἀθηναίων μελλόντων ἀποκλίνειν πρὸς τοὺς Μεσσηνίους, ἀπέλυσαν αὐτῶν τὴν συμμαχίαν, φήσαντες ἱκανοὺς ἔχειν πρὸς τὸν ἐφεστῶτα
3 κίνδυνον τοὺς ἄλλους συμμάχους. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι δόξαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἠτιμάσθαι, τότε[1] μὲν ἀπηλλάγησαν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀλλοτρίως ἔχοντες τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀεὶ μᾶλλον τὴν ἔχθραν ἐξεπύρσευον.[2] διὸ καὶ ταύτην μὲν[3] ἀρχὴν ἔλαβον[4] τῆς ἀλλοτριότητος, ὕστερον δὲ αἱ πόλεις διηνέχθησαν, καὶ μεγάλους ἐπανελόμεναι πολέμους ἔπλησαν ἅπα-

[1] So Reiske: οὗτοι.
[2] So Hertlein: ἐπύρσευον.
[3] μὲν Dindorf: τὴν.
[4] So Wurm: ἐξέλαβον.

city into the country, calling upon the other citizens to follow his example. The Spartans obeyed him and thus those who survived the shock were saved and these men King Archidamus organized into an army and prepared to make war upon the revolters.

64. The Messenians together with the Helots at first advanced against the city of Sparta, assuming that they would take it because there would be no one to defend it; but when they heard that the survivors were drawn up in a body with Archidamus the king and were ready for the struggle on behalf of their native land, they gave up this plan, and seizing a stronghold in Messenia they made it their base of operations and from there continued to overrun Laconia. And the Spartans, turning for help to the Athenians, received from them an army; and they gathered troops as well from the rest of their allies and thus became able to meet their enemy on equal terms. At the outset they were much superior to the enemy, but at a later time, when a suspicion arose that the Athenians were about to go over to the Messenians, they broke the alliance with them, stating as their reason that in the other allies they had sufficient men to meet the impending battle. The Athenians, although they believed that they had suffered an affront, at the time did no more than withdraw; later, however, their relations to the Lacedaemonians being unfriendly, they were more and more inclined to fan the flames of hatred. Consequently the Athenians took this incident as the first cause of the estrangement of the two states, and later on they quarrelled and, embarking upon great wars,

σαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα μεγάλων ἀτυχημάτων. ἀλλὰ γὰρ περὶ τούτων τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις χρόνοις
4 ἀναγράψομεν. τότε δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι στρατεύσαντες[1] ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰθώμην μετὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἐπολιόρκουν αὐτήν. οἱ δ' Εἵλωτες πανδημεὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀφεστῶτες συνεμάχουν τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις, καὶ ποτὲ μὲν ἐνίκων, ποτὲ δὲ ἡττῶντο. ἐπὶ δὲ ἔτη δέκα τοῦ πολέμου μὴ δυναμένου διακριθῆναι, διετέλουν τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἀλλήλους κακοποιοῦντες.

65. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἦν ἄρχων Θεαγενείδης, ἐν Ῥώμῃ δ' ὕπατοι καθειστήκεσαν Λεύκιος Αἰμίλιος Μάμερκος καὶ Λεύκιος Ἰούλιος Ἴουλος, Ὀλυμπιὰς δ' ἤχθη ἑβδομηκοστὴ καὶ ὀγδόη καθ' ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Παρμενίδης Ποσειδωνιάτης. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἀργείοις καὶ Μυκηναίοις ἐνέστη
2 πόλεμος διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας. Μυκηναῖοι διὰ τὸ παλαιὸν ἀξίωμα τῆς ἰδίας πατρίδος οὐχ ὑπήκουον τοῖς Ἀργείοις, ὥσπερ αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλεις αἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀργείαν, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἰδίαν ταττόμενοι τοῖς Ἀργείοις οὐ προσεῖχον· ἠμφισβήτουν δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τῆς Ἥρας, καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Νεμέων ἠξίουν αὐτοὶ διοικεῖν· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις[2] τῶν Ἀργείων ψηφισαμένων μὴ συμμαχεῖν εἰς Θερμοπύλας τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἐὰν μὴ μέρος τῆς ἡγεμονίας αὐτοῖς παραδῶσι, μόνοι τῶν τὴν Ἀργείαν κατοικούντων

[1] So Dindorf: στρατηγήσαντες.
[2] ὅτι after τούτοις deleted by Dindorf.

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[1] The famous Heraeum, situated at about the same distance from Mycenae and Argos in the hills south of the former. In it was later a celebrated statue of Hera, of gold and ivory, by Polycleitus.

filled all Greece with vast calamities. But we shall give an account of these matters severally in connection with the appropriate periods of time. At the time in question the Lacedaemonians together with their allies marched forth against Ithomê and laid siege to it. And the Helots, revolting in a body from the Lacedaemonians, joined as allies with the Messenians, and at one time they were winning and at another losing. And since for ten years no decision could be reached in the war, for that length of time they never ceased injuring each other.

65. The following year Theageneides was archon in Athens, and in Rome the consuls elected were Lucius Aemilius Mamercus and Lucius Julius Iulus, and the Seventy-eighth Olympiad was celebrated, that in which Parmenides of Posidonia won the "stadion." In this year a war broke out between the Argives and Mycenaeans for the following reasons. The Mycenaeans, because of the ancient prestige of their country, would not be subservient to the Argives as the other cities of Argolis were, but they maintained an independent position and would take no orders from the Argives; and they kept disputing with them also over the shrine of Hera[1] and claiming that they had the right to administer the Nemean Games[2] by themselves. Furthermore, when the Argives voted not to join with the Lacedaemonians in the battle at Thermopylae unless they were given a share in the supreme command, the Mycenaeans were the only people of Argolis who fought at the 468 B.C.

[2] These Games had been first under the supervision of the city of Cleonae. The question of their supervision must have been in the air at this time, since it was transferred to Argos in 460 B.C.

συνεμάχησαν οἱ Μυκηναῖοι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις.
3 τὸ δὲ σύνολον ὑπώπτευον αὐτούς, μήποτε ἰσχύσαντες ἐπὶ πλέον τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀμφισβητήσωσι τοῖς Ἀργείοις διὰ τὸ παλαιὸν φρόνημα τῆς πόλεως. διὰ δὴ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας ἀλλοτρίως διακείμενοι, πάλαι μὲν ἔσπευδον ἆραι τὴν πόλιν, τότε δὲ καιρὸν εὔθετον ἔχειν ἐνόμιζον, ὁρῶντες τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους τεταπεινωμένους καὶ μὴ δυναμένους τοῖς Μυκηναίοις βοηθεῖν. ἀθροίσαντες οὖν ἀξιόλογον δύναμιν ἔκ τε Ἄργους καὶ ἐκ τῶν συμμαχίδων πόλεων ἐστράτευσαν ἐπ' αὐτούς, νικήσαντες δὲ μάχῃ τοὺς Μυκηναίους καὶ συγκλείσαντες ἐντὸς
4 τειχῶν ἐπολιόρκουν τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ Μυκηναῖοι χρόνον μέν τινα τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας εὐτόνως ἠμύνοντο, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα λειπόμενοι τῷ πολέμῳ, καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων μὴ δυναμένων βοηθῆσαι διὰ τοὺς ἰδίους πολέμους καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν σεισμῶν γενομένην αὐτοῖς συμφοράν, ἄλλων δ' οὐκ ὄντων συμμάχων, ἐρημίᾳ τῶν ἐπικουρούντων κατὰ κράτος
5 ἥλωσαν. οἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι τοὺς Μυκηναίους ἀνδραποδισάμενοι καὶ δεκάτην ἐξ αὐτῶν τῷ θεῷ καθιερώσαντες, τὰς Μυκήνας κατέσκαψαν. αὕτη μὲν οὖν ἡ πόλις, εὐδαίμων ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις χρόνοις γενομένη καὶ μεγάλους ἄνδρας ἔχουσα καὶ πράξεις ἀξιολόγους ἐπιτελεσαμένη, τοιαύτην ἔσχε τὴν καταστροφήν, καὶ διέμεινεν ἀοίκητος μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράχθη κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν.

66. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Λυσιστράτου Ῥωμαῖοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Λεύκιον Πινάριον Μαμερτῖνον καὶ Πούπλιον Φούριον Φίφρωνα. ἐπὶ

side of the Lacedaemonians. In a word, the Argives were suspicious of the Mycenaeans, fearing lest, if they got any stronger, they might, on the strength of the ancient prestige of Mycenae, dispute the right of Argos to the leadership. Such, then, were the reasons for the bad blood between them; and from of old the Argives had ever been eager to exalt their city, and now they thought they had a favourable opportunity, seeing that the Lacedaemonians had been weakened and were unable to come to the aid of the Mycenaeans. Therefore the Argives, gathering a strong army from both Argos and the cities of their allies, marched against the Mycenaeans, and after defeating them in battle and shutting them within their walls, they laid siege to the city. The Mycenaeans for a time resisted the besiegers with vigour, but afterwards, since they were being worsted in the fighting and the Lacedaemonians could bring them no aid because of their own wars and the disaster that had overtaken them in the earthquakes, and since there were no other allies, they were taken by storm through lack of support from outside. The Argives sold the Mycenaeans into slavery, dedicated a tenth part of them to the god, and razed Mycenae. So this city, which in ancient times had enjoyed such felicity, possessing great men and having to its credit memorable achievements, met with such an end, and has remained uninhabited down to our own times.

These, then, were the events of this year.

66. When Lysistratus was archon in Athens, the Romans elected as consuls Lucius Pinarius Mamertinus and Publius Furius Fifron.[1] In this year Hieron, 467 B.C.

[1] Fifron is a corruption of Fusus.

δὲ τούτων Ἱέρων ὁ τῶν Συρακοσίων βασιλεὺς τοὺς Ἀναξίλα παῖδας τοῦ γενομένου τυράννου Ζάγκλης εἰς Συρακούσας μεταπεμψάμενος μεγάλαις δωρεαῖς ἀνεμίμνησκε τῆς Γέλωνος γενομένης πρὸς τὸν πατέρα αὐτῶν εὐεργεσίας, καὶ συνεβούλευεν αὐτοῖς ἤδη τὴν ἡλικίαν ἠνδρωμένοις ἀπαιτῆσαι λόγον παρὰ Μικύθου τοῦ ἐπιτροπεύοντος, καὶ τὴν δυναστείαν
2 αὐτοὺς παραλαβεῖν. τούτων δ' ἐπανελθόντων εἰς τὸ Ῥήγιον, καὶ τὸν ἐπίτροπον λόγον ἀπαιτούντων τῶν διῳκημένων, ὁ Μίκυθος, ἀνὴρ ὢν ἀγαθός, συνήγαγε τοὺς πατρικοὺς φίλους τῶν παίδων καὶ τὸν λόγον οὕτω καθαρῶς ἀπέδωκεν, ὥστε ἅπαντας τοὺς παρόντας θαυμάζειν τήν τε δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὴν πίστιν, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας μεταμεληθέντας ἐπὶ τοῖς πραχθεῖσιν ἀξιοῦν τὸν Μίκυθον πάλιν τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβεῖν, καὶ πατρὸς ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντα καὶ τάξιν
3 διοικεῖν τὰ κατὰ τὴν δυναστείαν. οὐ μὴν ὁ Μίκυθός γε συνεχώρησεν, ἀλλὰ πάντα παραδοὺς ἀκριβῶς καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν οὐσίαν ἐνθέμενος εἰς πλοῖον ἐξέπλευσεν ἐκ τοῦ Ῥηγίου, προπεμπόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ὄχλων εὐνοίας. οὗτος μὲν οὖν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κατάρας ἐν Τεγέαις τῆς Ἀρκαδίας κατεβίωσεν
4 ἐπαινούμενος. Ἱέρων δ' ὁ τῶν Συρακοσίων βασιλεὺς ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν τῇ Κατάνῃ, καὶ τιμῶν ἡρωικῶν ἔτυχεν, ὡς ἂν κτίστης γεγονὼς τῆς πόλεως. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἄρξας ἔτη ἕνδεκα κατέλιπε τὴν βασιλείαν Θρασυβούλῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, ὃς ἦρξε Συρακοσίων ἐνιαυτὸν ἕνα.

67. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Λυσανίου Ῥωμαῖοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Ἄππιον Κλαύδιον καὶ Τίτον Κοΐντιον Καπιτώλιον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Θρασύβουλος ὁ τῶν Συρακοσίων βασιλεὺς ἐξέπεσεν ἐκ

the king of the Syracusans, summoning to Syracuse the sons of Anaxilas, the former tyrant of Zanclê, and giving them great gifts, reminded them of the benefactions Gelon had rendered their father, and advised them, now that they had come of age, to require an accounting of Micythus, their guardian, and themselves to take over the government of Zanclê. And when they had returned to Rhegium and required of their guardian an accounting of his administration, Micythus, who was an upright man, gathered together the old family friends of the children and rendered so honest an accounting that all present were filled with admiration of both his justice and good faith; and the children, regretting the steps they had taken, begged Micythus to take back the administration and to conduct the affairs of the state with a father's power and position. Micythus, however, did not accede to the request, but after turning everything over to them punctiliously and putting his own goods aboard a boat he set sail from Rhegium, accompanied by the goodwill of the populace; and reaching Greece he spent the rest of his life in Tegea in Arcadia, enjoying the approval of men. And Hieron, the king of the Syracusans, died in Catana and received the honours which are accorded to heroes, as having been the founder of the city.[1] He had ruled eleven years, and he left the kingdom to his brother Thrasybulus, who ruled over the Syracusans for one year.

67. When Lysanias was archon in Athens, the Romans elected as consuls Appius Claudius and Titus Quinctius Capitolinus. During this year Thrasybulus, the king of the Syracusans, was driven from 466 B.C.

[1] Cp. chap. 49.

τῆς ἀρχῆς, περὶ οὗ τὰ[1] κατὰ μέρος ἀναγράφοντας
ἡμᾶς ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι βραχὺ τοῖς χρόνοις ἀναδρα-
μόντας ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἅπαντα καθαρῶς ἐκθεῖναι.
2 Γέλων ὁ Δεινομένους ἀρετῇ καὶ στρατηγίᾳ πολὺ
τοὺς ἄλλους διενέγκας καὶ Καρχηδονίους κατα-
στρατηγήσας ἐνίκησε παρατάξει μεγάλῃ τοὺς βαρ-
βάρους, καθότι προείρηται· χρησάμενος δὲ ἐπιεικῶς
τοῖς καταπολεμηθεῖσι καὶ καθόλου τοῖς πλησιο-
χώροις πᾶσι προσενεχθεὶς φιλανθρώπως, μεγάλης
3 ἔτυχεν ἀποδοχῆς παρὰ τοῖς Σικελιώταις. οὗτος
μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ πάντων ἀγαπώμενος διὰ τὴν πρᾳότητα,
διετέλεσε τὸν βίον εἰρηνικῶς μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς.
τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν διαδεξάμενος Ἱέρων ὁ πρεσβύ-
τατος τῶν ἀδελφῶν οὐχ ὁμοίως ἦρχε τῶν ὑπο-
4 τεταγμένων· ἦν γὰρ καὶ φιλάργυρος καὶ βίαιος καὶ
καθόλου τῆς ἁπλότητος καὶ καλοκἀγαθίας[2] ἀλλο-
τριώτατος. διὸ καὶ πλείονές τινες ἀφίστασθαι
βουλόμενοι παρακατέσχον τὰς ἰδίας ὁρμὰς διὰ τὴν
Γέλωνος δόξαν καὶ τὴν εἰς τοὺς ἅπαντας Σικε-
5 λιώτας εὔνοιαν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἱέρωνος τελευτὴν
παραλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν Θρασύβουλος ὁ ἀδελφὸς
ὑπερέβαλε τῇ κακίᾳ τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλεύσαντα.
βίαιος γὰρ ὢν καὶ φονικὸς πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν
πολιτῶν ἀνῄρει παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον, οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ
φυγαδεύων ἐπὶ ψευδέσι διαβολαῖς τὰς οὐσίας εἰς
τὸ βασιλικὸν ἀνελάμβανε· καθόλου δὲ μισῶν καὶ
μισούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδικουμένων, μισθοφόρων πλῆ-
θος ἐξενολόγησεν, ἀντίταγμα κατασκευάζων ταῖς

[1] τὰ added by Dindorf.
[2] τἀδελφοῦ after καλοκἀγαθίας omitted by Pa and deleted by Vogel

his throne, and since we are writing a detailed account of this event, we must go back a few years and set forth clearly the whole story from the beginning.

Gelon, the son of Deinomenes, who far excelled all other men in valour and strategy and out-generalled the Carthaginians, defeated these barbarians in a great battle, as has been told[1]; and since he treated the peoples whom he had subdued with fairness and, in general, conducted himself humanely toward all his immediate neighbours, he enjoyed high favour among the Sicilian Greeks. Thus Gelon, being beloved by all because of his mild rule, lived in uninterrupted peace until his death. But Hieron, the next oldest among the brothers,[2] who succeeded to the throne, did not rule over his subjects in the same manner; for he was avaricious and violent and, speaking generally, an utter stranger to sincerity and nobility of character. Consequently there were a good many who wished to revolt, but they restrained their inclinations because of Gelon's reputation and the goodwill he had shown towards all the Sicilian Greeks. After the death of Hieron, however, his brother Thrasybulus, who succeeded to the throne, surpassed in wickedness his predecessor in the kingship. For being a violent man and murderous by nature, he put to death many citizens unjustly and drove not a few into exile on false charges, confiscating their possessions into the royal treasury; and since, speaking generally, he hated those he had wronged and was hated by them, he enlisted a large body of mercenaries, preparing in this way a legion

[1] Cp. chaps. 21 ff.
[2] Deinomenes had four sons, Gelon, Hieron, Polyzelus, and Thrasybulus.

6 πολιτικαῖς δυνάμεσιν. ἀεὶ δὲ μᾶλλον τοῖς πολίταις ἀπεχθόμενος, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ὑβρίζων τοὺς δὲ ἀναιρῶν, ἠνάγκασε τοὺς ἀδικουμένους ἀποστῆναι. διόπερ οἱ Συρακόσιοι προστησάμενοι τοὺς ἡγησομένους ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῆς τυραννίδος πανδημεί, καὶ συνταχθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων
7 ἀντείχοντο τῆς ἐλευθερίας. Θρασύβουλος δὲ ὁρῶν τὴν πόλιν ὅλην ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρατευομένην, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπεχείρει λόγῳ καταπαύειν τὴν στάσιν· ὡς δ' ἑώρα τὴν ὁρμὴν τῶν Συρακοσίων ἀκατάπαυστον οὖσαν, συνήγαγεν ἔκ τε τῆς Κατάνης τοὺς κατοικισθέντας ὑφ' Ἱέρωνος καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συμμάχους, ἔτι δὲ μισθοφόρων πλῆθος, ὥστε τοὺς ἅπαντας γενέσθαι σχεδὸν περὶ τοὺς μυρίους πεντακισχι-
8 λίους. οὗτος μὲν οὖν τῆς πόλεως κατειληφὼς τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Ἀχραδινὴν καὶ τὴν Νῆσον ὀχυρὰν οὖσαν, καὶ ἐκ τούτων ὁρμώμενος διεπολέμει πρὸς τοὺς ἀφεστῶτας.

68. Οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον μέρος τῆς πόλεως κατελάβοντο τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Τύχην,[1] ἐκ ταύτης δὲ ὁρμώμενοι πρεσβευτὰς ἀπέστειλαν εἰς Γέλαν καὶ Ἀκράγαντα καὶ Σελινοῦντα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις εἰς Ἱμέραν καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν Σικελῶν πόλεις τὰς ἐν τῇ μεσογείῳ κειμένας, ἀξιοῦντες κατὰ τάχος συνελθεῖν καὶ συνελευθερῶσαι τὰς
2 Συρακούσας. πάντων δὲ προθύμως ὑπακουόντων, καὶ συντόμως ἀποστειλάντων τῶν μὲν πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππεῖς στρατιώτας, τῶν δὲ ναῦς μακρὰς κεκοσμημένας εἰς ναυμαχίαν, ταχὺ συνήχθη δύνα-

[1] ἰτύκην MSS. ; cp. Cicero, *In Verrem*, 4. 119 : "tertia est urbs quae . . . Tycha nominata est."

with which to oppose the citizen soldiery. And since he kept incurring more and more the hatred of the citizens by outraging many and executing others, he compelled the victims to revolt. Consequently the Syracusans, choosing men who would take the lead, set about as one man to destroy the tyranny, and once they had been organized by their leaders they clung stubbornly to their freedom. When Thrasybulus saw that the whole city was in arms against him, he at first attempted to stop the revolt by persuasion ; but after he observed that the movement of the Syracusans could not be halted, he gathered together both the colonists whom Hieron had settled in Catana and his other allies, as well as a multitude of mercenaries, so that his army numbered all told almost fifteen thousand men. Then, seizing Achradinê, as it is called, and the Island,[1] which was fortified,[2] and using them as bases, he began a war upon the revolting citizens.

68. The Syracusans at the outset seized a part of the city which is called Tychê,[3] and operating from there they dispatched ambassadors to Gela, Acragas, and Selinus, and also to Himera and the cities of the Siceli in the interior of the island, asking them to come together with all speed and join with them in liberating Syracuse. And since all these cities acceded to this request eagerly and hurriedly dispatched aid, some of them infantry and cavalry and others warships fully equipped for action, in a brief time there was collected a considerable armament

[1] Achradinê was the height north of the city and the Island is Ortygia, on which the palace and public buildings were located.
[2] As a matter of fact Achradinê also was fortified.
[3] This section adjoined Achradinê on the west.

μις ἀξιόχρεως τοῖς Συρακοσίοις. διὸ καὶ τὰς
ναῦς καταρτίσαντες οἱ Συρακόσιοι καὶ τὴν πεζὴν
δύναμιν ἐκτάξαντες, ἑτοίμους ἑαυτοὺς ἀπέδειξαν
3 καὶ πεζῇ καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν[1] διαγωνίζεσθαι. ὁ δὲ
Θρασύβουλος ἐγκαταλειπόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν συμ-
μάχων καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔχων τοῖς μισθο-
φόροις, τῆς μὲν Ἀχραδινῆς καὶ τῆς Νήσου κύριος
ἦν, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν μέρος τῆς πόλεως κατεῖχον οἱ Συ-
ρακόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ μὲν Θρασύβουλος ταῖς
ναυσὶν ἐπιπλεύσας ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ λειφθεὶς
τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, συχνὰς μὲν τριήρεις ἀπέβαλε, ταῖς δ'
4 ἄλλαις κατέφυγεν εἰς τὴν Νῆσον. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ
τὴν πεζὴν δύναμιν προαγαγὼν ἐκ τῆς Ἀχραδινῆς
καὶ παραταξάμενος ἐν τοῖς προαστείοις ἡττήθη,
καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποβαλὼν ἠναγκάσθη πάλιν εἰς τὴν
Ἀχραδινὴν ἀποχωρῆσαι. τέλος δὲ ἀπογνοὺς τὴν
τυραννίδα διεπρεσβεύσατο πρὸς τοὺς Συρακοσίους,
καὶ συνθέμενος τὰ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὑπόσπονδος ἀπ-
5 ῆλθεν εἰς Λοκρούς. οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι τοῦτον
τὸν τρόπον ἐλευθερώσαντες τὴν πατρίδα τοῖς μὲν
μισθοφόροις συνεχώρησαν ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ τῶν Συρα-
κουσῶν, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πόλεις τὰς τυραννουμένας
ἢ φρουρὰς ἐχούσας ἐλευθερώσαντες ἀποκατέστησαν
6 ταῖς πόλεσι τὰς δημοκρατίας. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν
χρόνων εἰρήνην ἔχουσα πολλὴν ἐπίδοσιν ἔλαβε πρὸς
εὐδαιμονίαν, καὶ διεφύλαξε τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἔτη
σχεδὸν ἑξήκοντα μέχρι τῆς Διονυσίου τυραννίδος.
7 Θρασύβουλος δὲ καλῶς θεμελιωθεῖσαν βασιλείαν
παραλαβών, διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν κακίαν αἰσχρῶς ἀπέβαλε

[1] *βουλομένους* after *θάλατταν* deleted by Bekker and Vogel.

with which to aid the Syracusans. Consequently the Syracusans, having made ready their ships and drawn up their army for battle, demonstrated that they were ready to fight to a finish both on land and on sea. Now Thrasybulus, abandoned as he was by his allies and basing his hopes only upon the mercenaries, was master only of Achradinê and the Island, whereas the rest of the city was in the hands of the Syracusans. And after this Thrasybulus sailed forth with his ships against the enemy, and after suffering defeat in the battle with the loss of numerous triremes, he withdrew with the remaining ships to the Island. Similarly he led forth his army also from Achradinê and drew them up for battle in the suburbs, but he suffered defeat and was forced to retire with heavy losses back to Achradinê. In the end, giving up hope of maintaining the tyranny, he opened negotiations with the Syracusans, came to an understanding with them, and retired under a truce to Locri.[1] The Syracusans, having liberated their native city in this manner, gave permission to the mercenaries to withdraw from Syracuse, and they liberated the other cities, which were either in the hands of tyrants or had garrisons, and re-established democracies in them. From this time the city enjoyed peace and increased greatly in prosperity, and it maintained its democracy for almost sixty years, until the tyranny which was established by Dionysius.[2] But Thrasybulus, who had taken over a kingship which had been established on so fair a foundation, disgracefully lost

[1] Epizephyrian Locri on the toe of Italy.
[2] In 406 B.C.; cp. Book 13. 95 ff.

τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ φυγὼν εἰς Λοκροὺς ἐνταῦθα τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἰδιωτεύων κατεβίωσεν.

8 Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τότε πρώτως κατεστάθησαν δήμαρχοι τέτταρες, Γάιος Σικίνιος καὶ Λεύκιος Νεμετώριος, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Μάρκος Δουίλλιος καὶ Σπόριος Ἀκίλιος.

69. Τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυσίου χρόνου διεληλυθότος Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἦρχε Λυσίθεος, ἐν Ῥώμῃ δ' ὕπατοι καθειστήκεσαν Λεύκιος Οὐαλέριος Ποπλικόλας καὶ Τίτος Αἰμίλιος Μάμερκος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἀρτάβανος, τὸ μὲν γένος Ὑρκάνιος, δυνάμενος δὲ πλεῖστον παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ Ξέρξῃ καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων ἀφηγούμενος, ἔκρινεν ἀνελεῖν τὸν Ξέρξην καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς ἑαυτὸν μεταστῆσαι. ἀνακοινωσάμενος δὲ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν πρὸς Μιθριδάτην τὸν εὐνοῦχον, ὃς ἦν κατακοιμιστὴς τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὴν κυριωτάτην ἔχων πίστιν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ συγγενὴς ὢν Ἀρταβάνου καὶ φίλος ὑπήκουσε πρὸς
2 τὴν ἐπιβουλήν. ὑπὸ τούτου δὲ νυκτὸς εἰσαχθεὶς ὁ Ἀρτάβανος εἰς τὸν κοιτῶνα, καὶ τὸν Ξέρξην ἀνελών, ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ βασιλέως. ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι τρεῖς τὸν ἀριθμόν, Δαρεῖος μὲν ὁ πρεσβύτατος καὶ Ἀρταξέρξης, ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις διατρίβοντες, ὁ δὲ τρίτος Ὑστάσπης ἀπόδημος ὢν κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρόν· εἶχε γὰρ τὴν ἐν Βάκτροις
3 σατραπείαν. ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀρτάβανος παραγενόμενος ἔτι νυκτὸς οὔσης πρὸς τὸν Ἀρταξέρξην ἔφησε Δαρεῖον τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ φονέα γεγονέναι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς ἑαυτὸν περισπᾶν.
4 συνεβούλευσεν οὖν αὐτῷ πρὸ τοῦ κατασχεῖν ἐκεῖνον τὴν ἀρχὴν σκοπεῖν ὅπως μὴ δουλεύσῃ διὰ ῥαθυμίαν, ἀλλὰ βασιλεύσῃ τὸν φονέα τοῦ πατρὸς τιμωρησά-

his kingdom through his own wickedness, and fleeing to Locri he spent the rest of his life there in private station.

While these events were taking place, in Rome this year for the first time four tribunes were elected to office, Gaius Sicinius, Lucius Numitorius, Marcus Duillius, and Spurius Acilius.

69. With the passing of this year, in Athens Lysi- 465 B.C.
theüs was archon, and in Rome the consuls elected were Lucius Valerius Publicola and Titus Aemilius Mamercus. During this year, in Asia Artabanus, an Hyrcanian by birth, who enjoyed the greatest influence at the court of King Xerxes and was captain of the royal body-guard, decided to slay Xerxes and transfer the kingship to himself. He communicated the plot to Mithridates the eunuch, who was the king's chamberlain and enjoyed his supreme confidence, and he, since he was also a relative of Artabanus as well as his friend, agreed to the plot. And Artabanus, being led at night by Mithridates into the king's bed-chamber, slew Xerxes and then set out after the king's sons. These were three in number, Darius the eldest and Artaxerxes, who were both living in the palace, and the third, Hystaspes, who happened to be away from home at the time, since he was administering the satrapy of Bactria. Now Artabanus, coming while it was yet night to Artaxerxes, told him that his brother Darius had murdered his father and was shifting the kingship to himself. He counselled him, therefore, before Darius should seize the throne, to see to it that he should not become a slave through sheer indifference but that he should ascend the throne after punishing the

μενος· ἐπηγγείλατο δ' αὐτῷ συνεργοὺς παρέξεσθαι
5 τοὺς δορυφόρους τοῦ βασιλέως. πεισθέντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀρταξέρξου καὶ παραχρῆμα μετὰ τῶν δορυφόρων ἀνελόντος τὸν ἀδελφὸν Δαρεῖον, ὁρῶν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπιβολὴν εὐροοῦσαν, καὶ παραλαβὼν τοὺς ἰδίους υἱοὺς καὶ φήσας καιρὸν ἔχειν τὴν βασιλείαν κατα-
6 κτήσασθαι, παίει τῷ ξίφει τὸν Ἀρταξέρξην. ὁ δὲ τρωθεὶς καὶ οὐδὲν παθὼν ὑπὸ τῆς πληγῆς ἠμύνατο τὸν Ἀρτάβανον καὶ κατενέγκας αὐτοῦ πληγὴν καιρίαν ἀπέκτεινε. παραδόξως δὲ σωθεὶς ὁ Ἀρταξέρξης καὶ τὸν φονέα τοῦ πατρὸς τετιμωρημένος παρέλαβε τὴν τῶν Περσῶν βασιλείαν. Ξέρξης μὲν οὖν τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον ἐτελεύτησε, βασιλεύσας τῶν Περσῶν ἔτη πλείω τῶν εἴκοσι, τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν διαδεξάμενος ὁ Ἀρταξέρξης ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη τετταράκοντα.

70. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησιν Ἀρχεδημίδου Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Αὖλον Οὐεργίνιον καὶ Τίτον Μινούκιον, Ὀλυμπιὰς δ' ἤχθη ἑβδομηκοστὴ καὶ ἐνάτη, καθ' ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Ξενοφῶν Κορίνθιος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων ἀποστάντες Θάσιοι ἀπὸ Ἀθηναίων, μετάλλων ἀμφισβητοῦντες, ἐκπολιορκηθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἠναγκάσθη-
2 σαν πάλιν ὑπ' ἐκείνους τάττεσθαι. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Αἰγινήτας ἀποστάντας Ἀθηναῖοι χειρωσόμενοι[1] τὴν Αἴγιναν πολιορκεῖν ἐπεχείρησαν· αὕτη γὰρ ἡ πόλις τοῖς κατὰ θάλατταν ἀγῶσι πολλάκις εὐημεροῦσα

[1] So Wurm: χειρωσάμενοι.

[1] Titus Numicius Priscus, according to Livy, 2. 63.
[2] A victory celebrated by Pindar, *Ol.* 13.
[3] Those of Mt. Pangaeus (now Pirnari) on the mainland,

murderer of his father; and he promised to get the body-guard of the king to support him in the undertaking. Artaxerxes fell in with the advice and at once, with the help of the body-guard, slew his brother Darius. And when Artabanus saw how his plan was prospering, he called his own sons to his side and crying out that now was his time to win the kingship he strikes Artaxerxes with his sword. Artaxerxes, being wounded merely and not seriously hurt by the blow, held off Artabanus and dealing him a fatal blow killed him. Thus Artaxerxes, after being saved in this unexpected fashion and having taken vengeance upon the slayer of his father, took over the kingship of the Persians. So Xerxes died in the manner we have described, after having been king of the Persians for more than twenty years, and Artaxerxes succeeded to the kingship and ruled for forty years.

70. When Archedemides was archon in Athens, the 464 B.C.
Romans elected as consuls Aulus Verginius and Titus Minucius,[1] and the Seventy-ninth Olympiad was celebrated, that in which Xenophon of Corinth[2] won the "stadion." In this year the Thasians revolted from the Athenians because of a quarrel over mines[3]; but they were forced to capitulate by the Athenians and compelled to subject themselves again to their rule. Similarly also, when the Aeginetans revolted, the Athenians, intending to reduce them to subjection, undertook the siege of Aegina; for this state, being often successful in its engagements at sea, was puffed

which yielded both gold and silver. The seizure of these mines by Philip of Macedon in 357 B.C., from which he derived in time an income of 1000 talents a year, laid the financial basis for the rise of Macedonia to supreme power in Greece.

φρονήματός τε πλήρης ἦν καὶ χρημάτων καὶ τριήρων εὐπορεῖτο, καὶ τὸ σύνολον ἀλλοτρίως ἀεὶ δι-
3 έκειτο πρὸς Ἀθηναίους. διόπερ στρατεύσαντες ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν χώραν ἐδῄωσαν, καὶ τὴν Αἴγιναν πολιορκοῦντες ἔσπευδον ἑλεῖν κατὰ κράτος. καθόλου γὰρ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῇ δυνάμει προκόπτοντες οὐκέτι τοῖς συμμάχοις ὥσπερ πρότερον ἐπιεικῶς ἐχρῶντο, ἀλλὰ
4 βιαίως καὶ ὑπερηφάνως ἦρχον. διόπερ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν συμμάχων τὴν βαρύτητα φέρειν ἀδυνατοῦντες ἀλλήλοις διελέγοντο περὶ ἀποστάσεως, καί τινες τοῦ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου καταφρονήσαντες κατ' ἰδίαν ἐτάττοντο.

5 Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Ἀθηναῖοι θαλαττοκρατοῦντες εἰς Ἀμφίπολιν ἐξέπεμψαν οἰκήτορας μυρίους, οὓς μὲν ἐκ τῶν πολιτῶν, οὓς δ' ἐκ τῶν συμμάχων καταλέξαντες, καὶ τὴν χώραν κατακληρουχήσαντες μέχρι μέν τινος ἐκράτουν τῶν Θρᾳκῶν, ὕστερον δὲ αὐτῶν ἀναβάντων εἰς Θρᾴκην συνέβη πάντας τοὺς εἰσβαλόντας εἰς τὴν χώραν τῶν Θρᾳκῶν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἠδωνῶν καλουμένων διαφθαρῆναι.

71. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Τληπολέμου Ῥωμαῖοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Τίτον Κοΐντιον καὶ Κόιντον Σερουίλιον Στροῦκτον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Περσῶν ἄρτι τὴν βασιλείαν ἀνακτησάμενος, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κολάσας τοὺς μετεσχηκότας τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀναιρέσεως διέταξε τὰ κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν συμφερόντως αὐτῷ.
2 τῶν μὲν γὰρ ὑπαρχόντων σατραπῶν τοὺς ἀλλοτρίως

[1] Of the Delian League; cp. chap. 47.

up with pride and was also well provided with both money and triremes, and, in a word, was constantly at odds with the Athenians. Consequently they sent an army against it and laid waste its territory, and then, laying siege to Aegina, they bent every effort on taking it by storm. For, speaking generally, the Athenians, now that they were making great advances in power, no longer treated their allies fairly, as they had formerly done, but were ruling them harshly and arrogantly. Consequently most of the allies, unable longer to endure their severity, were discussing rebellion with each other, and some of them, scorning the authority of the General Congress,[1] were acting as independent states.

While these events were taking place, the Athenians, who were now masters of the sea, dispatched ten thousand colonists to Amphipolis, recruiting a part of them from their own citizens and a part from the allies. They portioned out the territory in allotments, and for a time held the upper hand over the Thracians, but at a later time, as a result of their further advance into Thrace, all who entered the country of the Thracians were slain[2] by a people known as the Edones.

71. When Tlepolemus was archon in Athens, the 463 B.C.
Romans elected as consuls Titus Quinctius and Quintus Servilius Structus. This year Artaxerxes, the king of the Persians, who had just recovered the throne,[3] first of all punished those who had had a part in the murder of his father and then organized the affairs of the kingdom to suit his own personal advantage. Thus with respect to the satraps then in office,

[2] In the battle of Drabescus; cp. Book 12. 68. 2, Thucydides, 1. 100.
[3] Cp. chap. 69.

ἔχοντας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέστησε, τῶν δὲ αὑτοῦ φίλων ἐπιλέξας τοὺς εὐθέτους παρέδωκε τὰς σατραπείας. ἐπεμελήθη δὲ καὶ τῶν προσόδων καὶ τῆς δυνάμεων κατασκευῆς,[1] καὶ καθόλου τὴν βασιλείαν ὅλην ἐπιεικῶς διοικῶν μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς ἐτύγχανε παρὰ τοῖς Πέρσαις.

3 Οἱ δὲ τὴν Αἴγυπτον κατοικοῦντες πυθόμενοι τὴν
Ξέρξου τελευτὴν καὶ τὴν ὅλην ἐπίθεσιν καὶ ταραχὴν
ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν Περσῶν, ἔκριναν ἀντέχεσθαι
τῆς ἐλευθερίας. εὐθὺς οὖν ἀθροίσαντες δύναμιν
ἀπέστησαν τῶν Περσῶν, καὶ τοὺς φορολογοῦντας
τὴν Αἴγυπτον τῶν Περσῶν ἐκβαλόντες κατέστησαν
4 βασιλέα τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον Ἰναρώ. οὗτος δὲ τὸ
μὲν πρῶτον ἐκ τῶν ἐγχωρίων κατέλεγε στρατιώτας,
μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ μισθοφόρους ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοεθνῶν
ἀθροίζων κατεσκεύαζε δύναμιν ἀξιόχρεων. ἔπεμψε
δὲ καὶ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πρέσβεις περὶ συμμαχίας,
ὑπισχνούμενος αὐτοῖς, ἐὰν ἐλευθερώσωσι τοὺς
Αἰγυπτίους, κοινὴν αὐτοῖς παρέξεσθαι τὴν βασι-
λείαν καὶ πολλαπλασίους τῆς εὐεργεσίας ἀποδώσειν
5 χάριτας. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι κρίναντες συμφέρειν αὐ-
τοῖς τοὺς μὲν Πέρσας εἰς τὸ δυνατὸν ταπεινοῦν,
τοὺς δὲ Αἰγυπτίους ἰδίους ἑαυτοῖς παρασκευάσαι
πρὸς τὰ παράλογα τῆς τύχης, ἐψηφίσαντο τριακο-
6 σίαις τριήρεσι βοηθεῖν τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις. οἱ μὲν οὖν
Ἀθηναῖοι μετὰ πολλῆς προθυμίας περὶ τὴν τοῦ
στόλου παρασκευὴν ἐγίνοντο. Ἀρταξέρξης δὲ
πυθόμενος τὴν ἀπόστασιν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ
τὰς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευάς, ἔκρινε δεῖν τῷ
μεγέθει τῶν δυνάμεων ὑπερᾶραι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους.
εὐθὺς οὖν ἐξ ἁπασῶν τῶν σατραπειῶν κατέλεγε

[1] τῆς δυν. κατασκευῆς Dindorf: τῶν δυν. καὶ σκευῆς.

those who were hostile to him he dismissed and from his friends he chose such as were competent and gave the satrapies to them. He also concerned himself with both the revenues and the preparation of armaments, and since in general his administration of the entire kingdom was mild, he enjoyed the favour of the Persians to a high degree.

But when the inhabitants of Egypt learned of the death of Xerxes and of the general attempt upon the throne and the disorder in the Persian kingdom, they decided to strike for their liberty. At once, then, mustering an army, they revolted from the Persians, and after expelling the Persians whose duty it was to collect the tribute from Egypt, they set up as king a man named Inarôs. He at first recruited soldiers from the native Egyptians, but afterwards he gathered also mercenaries from the other nations and amassed a considerable army. He dispatched ambassadors also to the Athenians to effect an alliance, promising them that, if they should liberate the Egyptians, he would give them a share in the kingdom and grant them favours many times greater than the good service they had rendered. And the Athenians, having decided that it was to their advantage to humble the Persians as far as they could and to attach the Egyptians closely to themselves against the unpredictable shiftings of Fortune, voted to send three hundred triremes to the aid of the Egyptians. The Athenians, therefore, with great enthusiasm set about the preparation of the expedition. As for Artaxerxes, when he learned of the revolt of the Egyptians and their preparations for war, he concluded that he must surpass the Egyptians in the size of his armaments. So he at once began to enrol

στρατιώτας καὶ ναῦς κατεσκεύαζε, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἁπάσης παρασκευῆς ἐπιμέλειαν ἐποιεῖτο.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

72. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν ἄρτι καταλελυμένης τῆς ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσαις τυραννίδος καὶ πασῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν νῆσον πόλεων ἠλευθερωμένων, πολλὴν ἐπίδοσιν ἐλάμβανεν ἡ σύμπασα Σικελία πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν· εἰρήνην γὰρ ἔχοντες οἱ Σικελιῶται καὶ χώραν ἀγαθὴν νεμόμενοι, διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν καρπῶν ταχὺ ταῖς οὐσίαις ἀνέτρεχον καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπλήρωσαν οἰκετῶν καὶ κτηνῶν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης εὐδαιμονίας, μεγάλας μὲν λαμβάνοντες προσόδους, οὐδὲν
2 δὲ εἰς τοὺς εἰωθότας πολέμους ἀναλίσκοντες. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν εἰς πολέμους καὶ στάσεις ἐνέπεσον διὰ τοιαύτας τινὰς αἰτίας. καταλύσαντες τὴν Θρασυβούλου τυραννίδα συνήγαγον ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἰδίας δημοκρατίας βουλευσάμενοι πάντες ὁμογνωμόνως ἐψηφίσαντο Διὸς μὲν ἐλευθερίου κολοττιαῖον ἀνδριάντα κατασκευάσαι, κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν δὲ θύειν Ἐλευθέρια καὶ ἀγῶνας ἐπιφανεῖς ποιεῖν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ τὸν τύραννον καταλύσαντες ἠλευθέρωσαν τὴν πατρίδα· θύειν δ' ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι τοῖς θεοῖς ταύρους τετρακοσίους καὶ πεντήκοντα, καὶ τούτους δαπανᾶν εἰς τὴν τῶν πολι-
3 τῶν εὐωχίαν. τὰς δὲ ἀρχὰς ἁπάσας τοῖς ἀρχαίοις πολίταις ἀπένεμον· τοὺς δὲ ξένους τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ Γέλωνος πολιτευθέντας οὐκ ἠξίουν μετέχειν ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς, εἴτε οὐκ ἀξίους κρίναντες, εἴτε καὶ ἀπιστοῦντες μήποτε συντεθραμμένοι τυραννίδι καὶ

soldiers from all the satrapies, build ships, and give his attention to every other kind of preparation.

These were the events of this year in Asia and Egypt.

72. In Sicily, as soon as the tyranny of Syracuse had been overthrown and all the cities of the island had been liberated, the whole of Sicily was making great strides toward prosperity. For the Sicilian Greeks were at peace, and the land they cultivated was fertile, so that the abundance of their harvests enabled them soon to increase their estates and to fill the land with slaves and domestic animals and every other accompaniment of prosperity, taking in great revenues on the one hand and spending nothing upon the wars to which they had been accustomed. But later on they were again plunged into wars and civil strife for the following reasons. After the Syracusans had overthrown the tyranny of Thrasybulus, they held a meeting of the Assembly, and after deliberating on forming a democracy of their own they all voted unanimously to make a colossal statue of Zeus the Liberator and each year to celebrate with sacrifices the Festival of Liberation and hold games of distinction on the day on which they had overthrown the tyrant and liberated their native city ; and they also voted to sacrifice to the gods, in connection with the games, four hundred and fifty bulls and to use them for the citizens' feast. As for all the magistracies, they proposed to assign them to the original citizens, but the aliens who had been admitted to citizenship under Gelon they did not see fit to allow to share in this dignity, either because they judged them to be unworthy or because they were suspicious lest men who had been brought up in the way of

μονάρχῳ συνεστρατευμένοι νεωτερίζειν ἐπιχειρήσωσιν· ὅπερ καὶ συνέβη γενέσθαι. τοῦ γὰρ Γέλωνος πλείονας τῶν μυρίων πολιτογραφήσαντος ξένους μισθοφόρους, ἐκ τούτων περιελείποντο πλείους τῶν ἑπτακισχιλίων κατὰ τοὺς ὑποκειμένους καιρούς.

73. Οὗτοι τῆς ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν τιμῆς ἀπελαυνόμενοι χαλεπῶς ἔφερον, καὶ συμφρονήσαντες ἀπέστησαν τῶν Συρακοσίων, καὶ τῆς πόλεως κατελάβοντο τήν τε Ἀχραδινὴν καὶ τὴν Νῆσον, ἀμφοτέρων τῶν τόπων τούτων ἐχόντων ἴδιον τεῖχος
2 καλῶς κατεσκευασμένον. οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι πάλιν ἐμπεσόντες εἰς ταραχὴν τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς πόλεως κατεῖχον, καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὰς Ἐπιπολὰς τετραμμένον αὐτῆς ἀπετείχισαν καὶ πολλὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἑαυτοῖς κατεσκεύασαν· εὐθὺς γὰρ τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἐξόδου τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας εὐχερῶς εἶργον καὶ ταχὺ τῶν
3 ἐπιτηδείων ἐποίησαν ἀπορεῖν. οἱ δὲ ξένοι τοῖς μὲν πλήθεσιν ἐλείποντο τῶν Συρακοσίων, ταῖς δὲ ἐμπειρίαις ταῖς κατὰ πόλεμον πολὺ προεῖχον· διὸ καὶ γινομένων κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐπιθέσεων καὶ κατὰ μέρος συμπλοκῶν, ταῖς μὲν μάχαις οἱ ξένοι ἐπροτέρουν, εἰργόμενοι δὲ τῆς χώρας ἐλείποντο ταῖς παρασκευαῖς καὶ τροφῆς ἐσπάνιζον.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

74. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Κόνωνος, ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν εἶχον Κόιντος Φάβιος Οὐιβουλανὸς καὶ Τιβέριος Αἰμίλιος Μάμερκος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἀρταξέρξης μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Περσῶν κατέστησε στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Αἰγυπτίους πόλεμον Ἀχαιμένην τὸν Δαρείου μὲν υἱόν, ἑαυτοῦ δὲ θεῖον· τούτῳ δὲ παραδοὺς στρατιωτῶν ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν ὑπὲρ τὰς τριάκοντα μυριάδας προσ-

tyranny and had served in war under a monarch might attempt a revolution. And that is what actually happened. For Gelon had enrolled as citizens more than ten thousand foreign mercenaries, and of these there were left at the time in question more than seven thousand.

73. These aliens resented their being excluded from the dignity attending magistracies and with one accord revolted from the Syracusans, and they seized in the city both Achradinê and the Island, both these places having their own well-built fortifications. The Syracusans, who were again plunged into disorder, held possession of the rest of the city; and that part of it which faced Epipolae they blocked off by a wall and made their own position very secure; for they at once easily cut off the rebels from access to the countryside and soon caused them to be in want of provisions. But though in number the mercenaries were inferior to the Syracusans, yet in experience of warfare they were far superior; consequently, when attacks took place here and there throughout the city and isolated encounters, the mercenaries regularly had the upper hand in the combats, but since they were shut off from the countryside, they were in want of equipment and short of food.

Such were the events in Sicily of this year.

74. When Conon was archon in Athens, in Rome 462 B.C.
the consulship was held by Quintus Fabius Vibulanus and Tiberius Aemilius Mamercus. This year Artaxerxes, the king of the Persians, appointed Achaemenes, who was a son of Darius and his own uncle, to be commander in the war against the Egyptians; and turning over to him more than three hundred thousand soldiers, counting both cavalry and infantry,

2 ἔταξε καταπολεμῆσαι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους. οὗτος μὲν
οὖν ἐπειδὴ κατήντησεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, κατεστρατο-
πέδευσε πλησίον τοῦ Νείλου, καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ
τῆς ὁδοιπορίας ἀναλαβὼν παρεσκευάζετο τὰ πρὸς
τὴν μάχην· οἱ δ' Αἰγύπτιοι συνηθροικότες ἐκ τῆς
Λιβύης καὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὴν δύναμιν, ἀνέμενον
3 τὴν παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων συμμαχίαν. καταπλευ-
σάντων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον μετὰ
διακοσίων νεῶν καὶ μετὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων παρα-
ταξαμένων πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας, ἐγένετο μάχη καρ-
τερά. καὶ μέχρι μέν τινος οἱ Πέρσαι τοῖς πλήθεσι
προέχοντες ἐπλεονέκτουν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν
Ἀθηναίων βιασαμένων καὶ τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς τε-
ταγμένους τρεψαμένων καὶ πολλοὺς ἀναιρούντων,
τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος τῶν βαρβάρων πρὸς φυγὴν ὥρ-
4 μησε. πολλοῦ δὲ κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν γενομένου
φόνου, τὸ τελευταῖον οἱ μὲν Πέρσαι τὸ πλέον μέρος
τῆς δυνάμεως ἀποβαλόντες κατέφυγον ἐπὶ τὸ κα-
λούμενον Λευκὸν τεῖχος, οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ταῖς ἰδίαις
ἀνδραγαθίαις νίκημα περιπεποιημένοι συνεδίωξαν
τοὺς βαρβάρους εἰς τὸ προκείμενον χωρίον, καὶ οὐκ
ἀφίσταντο τῆς πολιορκίας.
5 Ἀρταξέρξης δὲ πυθόμενος τὴν τῶν ἰδίων ἧτταν,
τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπέστειλέ τινας τῶν φίλων μετὰ
πολλῶν χρημάτων εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, καὶ τοὺς
Λακεδαιμονίους ἠξίου πόλεμον ἐξενεγκεῖν τοῖς
Ἀθηναίοις, νομίζων οὕτω τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ νικῶν-
τας Ἀθηναίους ἀποπλεύσειν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας βοηθή-
6 σοντας τῇ πατρίδι· τῶν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων οὔτε
χρήματα δεξαμένων οὔτε ἄλλως προσεχόντων τοῖς
ὑπὸ Περσῶν ἀξιουμένοις ἀπογνοὺς τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν

he commanded him to subdue the Egyptians. Now Achaemenes, when he had entered Egypt, pitched his camp near the Nile, and when he had rested his army after the march, he made ready for battle; but the Egyptians, having gathered their army from Libya and Egypt, were awaiting the auxiliary force of the Athenians. After the Athenians had arrived in Egypt with two hundred ships and had been drawn up with the Egyptians in battle order against the Persians, a mighty struggle took place. And for a time the Persians with their superior numbers maintained the advantage, but later, when the Athenians seized the offensive, put to flight the forces opposing them, and slew many of them, the remainder of the barbarians turned to flight *en masse*. There was much slaughter in the course of the flight, and finally the Persians, after losing the larger part of their army, found refuge in the White Fortress,[1] as it is called, while the Athenians, who had won the victory by their own deeds of valour, pursued the barbarians as far as the aforesaid stronghold and did not hesitate to besiege it.

Artaxerxes, on learning of the defeat of his troops, at first sent some of his friends with a large sum of money to Lacedaemon and asked the Lacedaemonians to make war upon the Athenians, thinking that if they complied the Athenian troops who had won the victory in Egypt would sail back to Athens in order to defend their native city. When the Lacedaemonians, however, neither accepted money nor paid any attention whatever to the requests of the Persians, Artaxerxes despaired of getting any aid

[1] According to Thucydides (1. 104) this was a part of the city of Memphis.

Λακεδαιμονίων βοήθειαν ὁ Ἀρταξέρξης ἄλλας δυνάμεις παρεσκευάζετο· ἐπιστήσας δὲ αὐτοῖς ἡγεμόνας Ἀρτάβαζον καὶ Μεγάβυζον, ἄνδρας ἀρετῇ διαφέροντας, ἐξέπεμψε πολεμήσοντας τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις.

75. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησιν Εὐθίππου Ῥωμαῖοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Κόιντον Σερουίλιον καὶ Σπόριον Ποστούμιον Ἀλβῖνον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἀρτάβαζος καὶ Μεγάβυζος ἐκπεμφθέντες ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Αἰγυπτίους πόλεμον ἀνέζευξαν ἐκ τῆς Περσίδος, ἔχοντες στρατιώτας ἱππεῖς τε[1] καὶ πεζοὺς πλείους τῶν τριάκοντα μυ-
2 ριάδων. ὡς δ' ἦλθον εἰς Κιλικίαν καὶ Φοινίκην, τὰς μὲν πεζὰς δυνάμεις ἀνελάμβανον ἐκ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας, ναῦς δὲ προσέταξαν κατασκευάζειν τοῖς τε Κυπρίοις καὶ Φοίνιξι καὶ τοῖς τὴν Κιλικίαν οἰκοῦσι. καταρτισθεισῶν[2] δὲ τριήρων τριακοσίων, ταύτας ἐκόσμησαν ἐπιβάταις τε τοῖς κρατίστοις καὶ ὅπλοις καὶ βέλεσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς πρὸς ναυμαχίαν
3 χρησίμοις. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν περὶ τὰς παρασκευὰς ἐγίνοντο καὶ γυμνασίας τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐποιοῦντο καὶ συνείθιζον ἅπαντας ταῖς πολεμικαῖς ἐμπειρίαις, καὶ περὶ ταῦτα διέτριψαν σχεδόν τι τὸν ὑποκείμενον
4 ἐνιαυτόν· οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς περὶ τὴν Μέμφιν καταφυγόντας εἰς τὸ Λευκὸν τεῖχος ἐπολιόρκουν· ἀμυνομένων δὲ τῶν Περσῶν εὐρώστως οὐ δυνάμενοι τὸ χωρίον ἑλεῖν, ἔμειναν ἐπὶ τῆς πολιορκίας τὸν ἐνιαυτόν.

76. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν Συρακόσιοι μὲν πολεμοῦντες τοῖς ἀφεστηκόσι ξένοις συνεχεῖς προσβολὰς ἐποιοῦντο τῇ τε Ἀχραδινῇ καὶ τῇ Νήσῳ, καὶ ναυμαχίᾳ μὲν ἐνίκησαν τοὺς ἀποστάντας, πεζῇ δ' οὐκ

from the Lacedaemonians and set about preparing other armaments. In command of them he placed Artabazus and Megabyzus, men of outstanding merit, and dispatched them to make war upon the Egyptians.

75. When Euthippus was archon in Athens, the 461 B.C. Romans chose as consuls Quintus Servilius and Spurius Postumius Albinus. During this year, in Asia Artabazus and Megabyzus, who had been dispatched to the war against the Egyptians, set out from Persia with more than three hundred thousand soldiers, counting both cavalry and infantry. When they arrived in Cilicia and Phoenicia, they rested their land forces after the journey and commanded the Cyprians and Phoenicians and Cilicians to supply ships. And when three hundred triremes had been made ready, they fitted them out with the ablest marines and arms and missiles and everything else that is useful in naval warfare. So these leaders were busy with their preparations and with giving their soldiers training and accustoming every man to the practice of warfare, and they spent almost this entire year in this way. Meanwhile the Athenians in Egypt were besieging the troops which had taken refuge near Memphis in the White Fortress; but since the Persians were putting up a stout defence, they were unable to take the stronghold and so spent the year in the siege.

76. In Sicily the Syracusans, in their war upon the mercenaries who had revolted, kept launching attack after attack upon both Achradinê and the Island, and they defeated the rebels in a sea-battle, but on land

[1] τε added by Capps, cp. ch. 74. 1.
[2] So Wesseling: καταρτισθέντων.

ἴσχυον ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως διὰ τὴν ὀχυρότητα
2 τῶν τόπων. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παρατάξεως γενομένης ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας, καὶ τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων παρ' ἀμφοτέροις ἐκθύμως κινδυνευόντων, πεσεῖν συνέβη οὐκ ὀλίγους παρ' ἀμφοτέροις, νικῆσαι δὲ τοὺς Συρακοσίους. μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην οἱ Συρακόσιοι τοὺς μὲν ἐπιλέκτους, ὄντας ἑξακοσίους, αἰτίους γενομένους τῆς νίκης, ἐστεφάνωσαν ἀριστεῖα δόντες ἀργυρίου μνᾶν ἑκάστῳ.

3 Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Δουκέτιος μὲν ὁ τῶν Σικελῶν ἡγεμών, χαλεπῶς ἔχων τοῖς τὴν Κατάνην οἰκοῦσι διὰ τὴν ἀφαίρεσιν τῆς τῶν Σικελῶν χώρας, ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' αὐτούς. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν Συρακοσίων στρατευσάντων ἐπὶ τὴν Κατάνην, οὗτοι μὲν κοινῇ κατεκληρούχησαν τὴν χώραν καὶ τοὺς[1] κατοικισθέντας[2] ὑφ' Ἱέρωνος τοῦ δυνάστου ἐπολέμουν· ἀντιταχθέντων δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Κατάνῃ καὶ λειφθέντων πλείοσι μάχαις, οὗτοι μὲν ἐξέπεσον ἐκ τῆς Κατάνης, καὶ τὴν νῦν οὖσαν Αἴτνην ἐκτήσαντο, πρὸ τούτου καλουμένην Ἴνησσαν, οἱ δ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐκ τῆς Κατάνης ὄντες ἐκομίσαντο πολλῷ χρόνῳ τὴν πατρίδα.

4 Τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἱέρωνος δυναστείαν ἐκπεπτωκότες ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων πόλεων ἔχοντες τοὺς συναγωνιζομένους κατῆλθον εἰς τὰς πατρίδας καὶ τοὺς ἀδίκως τὰς ἀλλοτρίας πόλεις ἀφῃρημένους ἐξέβαλον ἐκ τῶν πόλεων· τούτων δ' ἦσαν Γελῷοι καὶ Ἀκραγαντῖνοι καὶ Ἱμεραῖοι.
5 παραπλησίως δὲ τούτοις καὶ Ῥηγῖνοι μετὰ Ζαγ-

[1] *τοὺς* added by Dindorf.
[2] So Wesseling: *κατοικισθέντες*.

they were unable to expel them from the city because of the strength of these two places. Later, however, after an open battle had been fought on land, the soldiers engaged on both sides fighting spiritedly, finally, although both armies suffered not a few casualties, victory lay with the Syracusans. And after the battle the Syracusans honoured with the prize of valour the elite troops, six hundred in number, who were responsible for the victory, giving them each a mina[1] of silver.

While these events were taking place, Ducetius, the leader of the Siceli, harbouring a grudge against the inhabitants of Catana because they had robbed the Siceli of their land, led an army against them. And since the Syracusans had likewise sent an army against Catana, they and the Siceli joined in portioning out the land in allotments among themselves and made war upon the settlers who had been sent by Hieron when he was ruler of Syracuse.[2] The Catanians opposed them with arms, but were defeated in a number of engagements and were expelled from Catana, and they took possession of what is now Aetna, which was formerly called Inessa; and the original inhabitants of Catana, after a long period, got back their native city.

After these events the peoples who had been expelled from their own cities while Hieron was king, now that they had assistance in the struggle, returned to their fatherlands and expelled from their cities the men who had wrongfully seized for themselves the habitations of others; among these were inhabitants of Gela, Acragas, and Himera. In like manner Rhegians along with Zanclians expelled the sons of

[1] About four pounds sterling.
[2] Cp. chap. 49. 1.

κλαίων τοὺς Ἀναξίλου παῖδας δυναστεύοντας ἐκβαλόντες ἠλευθέρωσαν τὰς πατρίδας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Καμάριναν μὲν Γελῷοι κατοικίσαντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατεκληρούχησαν· αἱ δὲ πόλεις σχεδὸν ἅπασαι πρὸς τὴν κατάλυσιν τῶν πολέμων[1] ὁρμήσασαι, καὶ κοινὸν δόγμα ποιησάμεναι, πρὸς τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ξένους διελύθησαν, καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας καταδεξάμεναι τοῖς ἀρχαίοις πολίταις τὰς πόλεις ἀπέδοσαν, τοῖς δὲ ξένοις τοῖς διὰ τὰς δυναστείας ἀλλοτρίας τὰς πόλεις ἔχουσι συνεχώρησαν τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀποκο-
6 μίζειν καὶ κατοικεῖν ἅπαντας ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ. αἱ μὲν οὖν κατὰ Σικελίαν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι στάσεις καὶ ταραχαὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον κατελύθησαν, αἱ δὲ πόλεις τὰς ἀπαλλοτρίους πολιτείας ἀποβαλοῦσαι σχεδὸν ἅπασαι τὰς ἰδίας χώρας κατεκληρούχησαν τοῖς πολίταις πᾶσιν.

77. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Φρασικλείδου Ὀλυμπιὰς μὲν ἤχθη ὀγδοηκοστή, καθ' ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Τορύλλας Θετταλός, Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ὑπάτους κατέστησαν Κόιντον Φάβιον καὶ Τίτον Κοΐντιον Καπιτωλῖνον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων κατὰ μὲν τὴν Ἀσίαν οἱ τῶν Περσῶν στρατηγοὶ διαβάντες ἐπὶ[2] τὴν Κιλικίαν ναῦς μὲν κατεσκεύασαν τριακοσίας κεκοσμημένας καλῶς πρὸς τὴν πολεμικὴν χρείαν, τὸ δὲ πεζὸν στρατόπεδον λαβόντες προῆγον πεζῇ διὰ Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης· συμπαραπλέοντος δὲ καὶ τοῦ στόλου τῇ πεζῇ στρατιᾷ κατήντησαν εἰς Μέμφιν
2 τῆς Αἰγύπτου. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τὴν πολιορκίαν τοῦ Λευκοῦ τείχους ἔλυσαν, καταπληξάμενοι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· μετὰ δὲ

[1] So Reiske: πολεμίων. [2] So Wesseling: περί.

[1] Cp. chap. 48.

Anaxilas, who were ruling over them, and liberated their fatherlands.[1] Later on Geloans, who had been the original settlers of Camarina, portioned that land out in allotments. And practically all the cities, being eager to make an end of the wars, came to a common decision, whereby they made terms with the mercenaries in their midst; they then received back the exiles and restored the cities to the original citizens,[2] but to the mercenaries who because of the former tyrannical governments were in possession of the cities belonging to others, they gave permission to take with them their own goods and to settle one and all in Messenia. In this manner, then, an end was put to the civil wars and disorders which had prevailed throughout the cities of Sicily, and the cities, after driving out the forms of government which aliens had introduced, with almost no exceptions portioned out their lands in allotments among all their citizens.

77. When Phrasicleides was archon in Athens, the Eightieth Olympiad was celebrated, that in which Torylla the Thessalian won the "stadion"; and the Romans elected as consuls Quintus Fabius and Titus Quinctius Capitolinus. During this year, in Asia the Persian generals who had passed over to Cilicia made ready three hundred ships, which they fitted out fully for warfare, and then with their land force they advanced overland through Syria and Phoenicia; and with the fleet accompanying the army along the coast, they arrived at Memphis in Egypt. At the outset they broke the siege of the White Fortress, having struck the Egyptians and the Athenians with terror; but later on, adopting a 460 B.C.

[2] *i.e.* to the descendants of the first settlers.

ταῦτα ἐμφρόνως βουλευσάμενοι κατὰ στόμα μὲν
παρατάττεσθαι διέκλινον, στρατηγήμασι δὲ ἐφιλο-
τιμοῦντο καταλῦσαι τὸν πόλεμον. διόπερ καὶ τῶν
Ἀττικῶν νεῶν ὁρμουσῶν ἐν τῇ Προσωπίτιδι λεγο-
μένῃ νήσῳ, τὸν περιρρέοντα ποταμὸν διώρυξι
3 διαλαβόντες ἤπειρον ἐποίησαν τὴν νῆσον. τῶν δὲ
νεῶν ἄφνω καθιζουσῶν ἐπὶ ξηρὰν τὴν γῆν, οἱ μὲν
Αἰγύπτιοι καταπλαγέντες ἐγκατέλιπον τοὺς Ἀθη-
ναίους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας διελύσαντο· οἱ δὲ
Ἀθηναῖοι συμμάχων ὄντες ἔρημοι καὶ τὰς ναῦς
ὁρῶντες ἀχρήστους γεγενημένας, ταύτας μὲν ἐν-
έπρησαν ὅπως μὴ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑποχείριοι γενη-
θῶσιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐ καταπλαγέντες τὴν δεινότητα
τῆς περιστάσεως παρεκάλουν ἀλλήλους μηδὲν ἀν-
άξιον πρᾶξαι τῶν προκατειργασμένων ἀγώνων.
4 διόπερ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ὑπερβαλλόμενοι τοὺς ἐν Θερ-
μοπύλαις ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀποθανόντας, ἑτοίμως
εἶχον διαγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. οἱ δὲ
στρατηγοὶ τῶν Περσῶν Ἀρτάβαζος καὶ Μεγάβυζος,
ὁρῶντες τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς εὐτολμίας τῶν πολε-
μίων καὶ λογισάμενοι διότι τούτους οὐ δυνατὸν
ἀνελεῖν ἄνευ τοῦ πολλὰς μυριάδας ἀποβαλεῖν τῶν
ἰδίων, σπονδὰς ἔθεντο πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καθ'
ἃς ἔδει χωρὶς κινδύνων ἀπελθεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς
5 Αἰγύπτου. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν
ἀρετὴν τυχόντες τῆς σωτηρίας ἀπῆλθον ἐκ τῆς
Αἰγύπτου, καὶ διὰ τῆς Λιβύης εἰς Κυρήνην ἀπ-
ελθόντες ἐσώθησαν παραδόξως εἰς τὴν πατρίδα.
6 Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις ἐν μὲν ταῖς Ἀθη-
ναις Ἐφιάλτης ὁ Σοφωνίδου,[1] δημαγωγὸς ὢν καὶ
τὸ πλῆθος παροξύνας κατὰ τῶν Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν,

[1] So Meurs: Σιμωνίδου.

prudent course, they avoided any frontal encounters and strove to bring the war to an end by the use of stratagems. Accordingly, since the Attic ships lay moored at the island known as Prosopitis, they diverted by means of canals the river which flowed around the island, and thus made the island a part of the mainland. When the ships thus all of a sudden came to rest on dry land, the Egyptians in alarm left the Athenians in the lurch and came to terms with the Persians. The Athenians, being now without allies and seeing that their ships had become useless, set fire to them to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, and then themselves, undismayed at the alarming plight they were in, fell to exhorting one another to do nothing unworthy of the fights they had won in the past. Consequently, with a display of deeds of valour surpassing in heroism the men who perished in Thermopylae in defence of Greece, they stood ready to fight it out with the enemy. But the Persian generals, Artabazus and Megabyzus, taking note of the exceptional courage of their foes and reasoning that they would be unable to annihilate such men without sacrificing many myriads of their own, made a truce with the Athenians whereby they should with impunity depart from Egypt. So the Athenians, having saved their lives by their courage, departed from Egypt, and making their way through Libya to Cyrenê got safely back, as by a miracle, to their native land.[1]

While these events were taking place, in Athens Ephialtes the son of Sophonides, who, being a popular leader, had provoked the masses to anger against the Areopagites, persuaded the Assembly to vote to cur-

[1] "The most of them perished," says Thucydides (1. 110).

ἔπεισε τὸν δῆμον ψηφίσματι μειῶσαι τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴν καὶ τὰ πάτρια καὶ περιβόητα νόμιμα καταλῦσαι. οὐ μὴν ἀθῷος[1] γε διέφυγε τηλικούτοις ἀνομήμασιν ἐπιβαλόμενος, ἀλλὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀναιρεθεὶς ἄδηλον ἔσχε τὴν τοῦ βίου τελευτήν.

78. Τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυσίου χρόνου διεληλυθότος Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἦν ἄρχων Φιλοκλῆς, ἐν Ῥώμῃ δὲ τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν διεδέξαντο Αὖλος Ποστούμιος Ῥηγοῦλος καὶ Σπόριος Φούριος Μεδιολανός. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Κορινθίοις καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίοις πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἐνστάντος πολέμου, ἐστράτευσαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ γενομένης μάχης ἰσχυρᾶς ἐνίκησαν
2 Ἀθηναῖοι. μεγάλῳ δὲ στόλῳ καταπλεύσαντες πρὸς τοὺς ὀνομαζομένους Ἁλιεῖς, ἀνέβησαν εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἀνεῖλον οὐκ ὀλίγους. συστραφέντων δὲ τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον ἀθροισάντων, συνέστη μάχη πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους περὶ τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Κεκρυφά-
3 λειαν, καθ' ἣν πάλιν ἐνίκησαν Ἀθηναῖοι. τοιούτων δὲ εὐημερημάτων αὐτοῖς γενομένων, τοὺς Αἰγινήτας ὁρῶντες πεφρονηματισμένους μὲν[2] ταῖς προγεγενημέναις πράξεσιν, ἀλλοτρίως δὲ ἔχοντας πρὸς αὐ-
4 τούς, ἔγνωσαν καταπολεμῆσαι. διὸ καὶ στόλον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀξιόλογον ἀποστειλάντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων, οἱ τὴν Αἴγιναν κατοικοῦντες, μεγάλην ἐμπειρίαν ἔχοντες καὶ δόξαν τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀγώνων, οὐ κατεπλάγησαν τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἔχοντες δὲ τριήρεις ἱκανὰς καὶ προσκατασκευάσαντες ἑτέρας, ἐναυμάχησαν, καὶ λειφθέντες ἀπέβαλον

[1] So Wesseling: ἀθρόως.
[2] So Dindorf: μὲν ἄν.

tail the power of the Council of the Areopagus and to destroy the renowned customs which their fathers had followed. Nevertheless, he did not escape the punishment for attempting such lawlessness, but he was done to death by night and none ever knew how he lost his life.

78. At the conclusion of this year Philocles was archon in Athens, and in Rome Aulus Postumius Regulus and Spurius Furius Mediolanus succeeded to the consulship. During this year a war arose between the Corinthians and Epidaurians on the one hand and the Athenians on the other, and the Athenians took the field against them and after a sharp battle were victorious. With a large fleet they put in at a place called Halieis, landed on the Peloponnesus, and slew not a few of the enemy.[1] But the Peloponnesians rallied and gathered a strong force, and it came to a battle with the Athenians near the place called Cecryphaleia [2] in which the Athenians were again victorious. After such successes the Athenians, seeing that the Aeginetans were not only puffed up over their former achievements but also hostile to Athens, decided to reduce them by war. Therefore the Athenians dispatched a strong fleet against them. The inhabitants of Aegina, however, who had great experience in fighting at sea and enjoyed a great reputation therefor, were not dismayed at the superiority of the Athenians, but since they had a considerable number of triremes and had built some new ones, they engaged the Athenians in battle, but were defeated with the

459 B.C.

[1] Halieis is on the Argolic Gulf, near Hermionê. Thucydides (1. 105) says that the Athenians were defeated.
[2] An island off Epidaurus.

τριήρεις ἑβδομήκοντα· συντριβέντες δὲ τοῖς φρονήμασι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς συμφορᾶς, ἠναγκάσθησαν εἰς τὴν Ἀθηναίων συντέλειαν καταταχθῆναι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Λεωκράτης ὁ στρατηγὸς κατεπράξατο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, τοὺς πάντας διαπολεμήσας μῆνας ἐννέα πρὸς τοὺς Αἰγινήτας.

5 Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν Δουκέτιος ὁ τῶν Σικελῶν βασιλεύς,[1] ὠνομασμένος τὸ γένος ἰσχύων δὲ κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους, Μέναινον μὲν πόλιν ἔκτισε καὶ τὴν σύνεγγυς χώραν τοῖς κατοικισθεῖσι διεμέρισε, στρατευσάμενος δ' ἐπὶ πόλιν ἀξιόλογον Μοργαντῖναν, καὶ χειρωσάμενος αὐτήν, δόξαν ἀπηνέγκατο παρὰ τοῖς ὁμοεθνέσι.

79. Τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυσίου χρόνου διεληλυθότος Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἦρχε Βίων, ἐν Ῥώμῃ δὲ τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν διεδέξαντο Πούπλιος Σερουίλιος Στροῦκτος καὶ Λεύκιος Αἰβούτιος Ἄλβας. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Κορινθίοις καὶ Μεγαρεῦσι περὶ χώρας ὁμόρου γενομένης ἀμφισβητήσεως, εἰς πόλεμον αἱ πόλεις
2 ἐνέπεσον. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον τὴν χώραν ἀλλήλων διετέλουν λεηλατοῦντες καὶ κατ' ὀλίγους συμπλοκὰς[2] ποιούμενοι· αὐξομένης δὲ τῆς διαφορᾶς οἱ Μεγαρεῖς ἀεὶ μᾶλλον ἐλαττούμενοι καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους φοβούμενοι, συμμάχους ἐποιήσαντο τοὺς
3 Ἀθηναίους. διὸ καὶ πάλιν τῶν πόλεων ἐφαμίλλων ταῖς δυνάμεσι γενομένων, καὶ τῶν Κορινθίων μετὰ Πελοποννησίων ἀξιολόγῳ δυνάμει στρατευσάντων εἰς τὴν Μεγαρικήν, Ἀθηναῖοι συμμαχίαν ἔπεμψαν τοῖς Μεγαρεῦσιν, ἧς ἡγεῖτο Μυρωνίδης, ἀνὴρ ἐπ' ἀρετῇ θαυμαζόμενος· γενομένης δὲ παρατάξεως ἰσχυρᾶς ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον, καὶ ταῖς ἀνδραγαθίαις

loss of seventy ships; and, their spirits crushed by so great a disaster, they were forced to join the league which paid tribute to Athens. This was accomplished for the Athenians by their general Leocrates, who was engaged in the war with the Aeginetans nine months in all.

While these events were taking place, in Sicily the king of the Siceli, Ducetius, a man of famous family and influential at this time, founded the city of Menaenum and distributed the neighbouring territory among the settlers, and making a campaign against the strong city of Morgantina and reducing it, he won fame among his own people.

79. At the close of the year Bion was archon in 458 B.C.
Athens, and in Rome Publius Servilius Structus and Lucius Aebutius Albas succeeded to the consulship. During this year a quarrel arose between the Corinthians and Megarians over land on their borders and the cities went to war. At first they kept making raids on each other's territory and engaging in clashes of small parties; but as the quarrel increased, the Megarians, who were increasingly getting the worse of it and stood in fear of the Corinthians, made allies of the Athenians. As a result the cities were again equal in military strength, and when the Corinthians together with Peloponnesians advanced into Megaris with a strong army, the Athenians sent troops to the aid of the Megarians under the command of Myronides, a man who was admired for his valour. A fierce engagement took place which lasted a long

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[1] ὢν after βασιλεὺς deleted by Dindorf.
[2] καὶ μάχας μικρὰς after συμπλοκὰς deleted by Reiske.

ἑκατέρων ἐξισουμένων, τὸ τελευταῖον ἐνίκησαν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνεῖλον τῶν πολεμίων.
4 μετὰ δ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας πάλιν γενομένης ἰσχυρᾶς μάχης ἐν τῇ λεγομένῃ Κιμωλίᾳ, πάλιν ἐνίκησαν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνεῖλον τῶν πολεμίων.[1]

Οἱ Φωκεῖς ἐνεστήσαντο πόλεμον πρὸς Δωριεῖς, τοὺς προγόνους μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων, οἰκοῦντας δὲ πόλεις τρεῖς, Κυτίνιον καὶ Βοιὸν καὶ Ἐρινεόν, κειμένας ὑπὸ τὸν λόφον τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον Παρνασσόν. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον βίᾳ χειρωσάμενοι τοὺς Δωριεῖς κατέσχον αὐτῶν τὰς πόλεις· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν Νικομήδην τὸν Κλεομένους ἐξέπεμψαν βοηθήσοντα τοῖς Δωριεῦσι διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν· εἶχε δ' οὗτος Λακεδαιμονίους μὲν χιλίους πεντακοσίους, παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Πελο-
6 ποννησίων μυρίους. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἐπίτροπος ὢν Πλειστώνακτος τοῦ βασιλέως παιδὸς ὄντος, μετὰ τοσαύτης δυνάμεως ἐβοήθησε τοῖς Δωριεῦσι, νικήσας δὲ τοὺς Φωκεῖς καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀνακτησάμενος τούς τε Φωκεῖς καὶ Δωριεῖς διήλλαξεν.

80. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πυθόμενοι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους τὸν μὲν πρὸς Φωκεῖς πόλεμον καταλελυκέναι αὐτοὺς δὲ μέλλειν τὴν εἰς οἶκον ἐπάνοδον ποιεῖσθαι, ἔγνωσαν ἐπιθέσθαι κατὰ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις. ἐστράτευσαν οὖν ἐπ' αὐτούς, παραλαβόντες τοὺς Ἀργείους καὶ Θετταλούς· καὶ πεντήκοντα μὲν ναυσὶ στρατιώταις δὲ μυρίοις καὶ τετρακισχιλίοις ἐπιβαλοῦντες[2] αὐτοῖς, κατελάβον-

[1] Here the MSS. add μετὰ δ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας πάλιν γενομένης ἰσχυρᾶς μάχης (πάλιν γ. ἰ. μάχης omitted by the f group), but without any subject or verb. Hence most editors delete these words as a scribal repetition and even the preceding καὶ πολλοὺς ἀ. τ. πολεμίων. But these last words may have been a conscious repetition by Diodorus for emphasis.

[2] ἐπιβαλοῦντες suggested by Vogel, ἐπιβουλεύοντες Hertlein: ἐπιβαλόντες.

time and each side matched the other in deeds of courage, but at last victory lay with the Athenians, who slew many of the enemy. And after a few days there was another fierce battle at Cimolia, as it is called, and again the Athenians were victorious and slew many of the enemy.

The Phocians went to war with the Dorians, who are the original stock of the Lacedaemonians and dwell in the three cities, Cytinium, Boeum and Erineüs, which lie at the base of Mt. Parnassus. Now at first they subdued the Dorians by force of arms and occupied their cities; but after this the Lacedaemonians, because of their kinship, dispatched Nicomedes, the son of Cleomenes, to the aid of the Dorians. He had fifteen hundred Lacedaemonians and ten thousand men from the rest of the Peloponnesians. So Nicomedes, who was the guardian of Pleistonax the king, who was still a child, came to the aid of the Dorians with this large army, and after inflicting a defeat upon the Phocians and recovering the cities they had seized, he made peace between the Phocians and the Dorians.

80. When the Athenians learned that the Lacedaemonians had concluded the war against the Phocians and were about to make their return home, they decided to attack the Lacedaemonians while on the march. Accordingly they dispatched an army against them, including in it Argives and Thessalians; and with the intention of falling upon them with fifty ships and fourteen thousand men, they

2 το τὰς περὶ τὴν Γεράνειαν παρόδους. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ πυνθανόμενοι τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους παρῆλθον τῆς Βοιωτίας εἰς Τάναγραν. τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων παραγενομένων εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν καὶ παρατάξεως γενομένης, ἰσχυρὰ[1] συνέστη μάχη· καὶ τῶν μὲν Θετταλῶν μεταβαλομένων ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν Ἀργείων οὐδὲν ἧττον διαγωνιζομένων, ἔπεσον μὲν οὐκ ὀλίγοι παρ' ἀμφοτέροις, νυκτὸς δ' ἐπι-
3 λαβούσης διελύθησαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις κομιζομένης ἀγορᾶς πολλῆς ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, οἱ Θετταλοὶ κρίναντες ἐπιθέσθαι ταύτῃ[2] καὶ[3] αὐτῆς[4] ὥρας δειπνοποιησάμενοι νυκτὸς ἀπήντων τοῖς κομί-
4 ζουσι τὰς ἀγοράς. τῶν δὲ παραφυλαττόντων Ἀθηναίων ἀγνοούντων καὶ προσδεξαμένων τοὺς Θετταλοὺς ὡς φίλους, συνέβη[5] πολλοὺς καὶ ποικίλους ἀγῶνας γενέσθαι περὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον οἱ Θετταλοί, προσδεχθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν, ἔκτεινον τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας, καὶ συντεταγμένοι τοῖς τεθορυβημένοις συμπλεκόμενοι
5 πολλοὺς ἀνῄρουν. οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὴν στρατοπεδείαν ὄντες Ἀθηναῖοι πυθόμενοι τὴν τῶν Θετταλῶν ἐπίθεσιν, ἧκον κατὰ σπουδήν, καὶ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς ἐξ
6 ἐφόδου τρεψάμενοι πολὺν ἐποίουν φόνον. ἐπιβοηθησάντων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τοῖς Θετταλοῖς συντεταγμένῃ τῇ δυνάμει, καὶ τοῖς στρατοπέδοις ὅλοις γενομένης παρατάξεως, συνέβη διὰ τὴν γενομένην φιλοτιμίαν πολλοὺς παρ' ἀμφοτέροις ἀναιρεθῆναι. τέλος δέ, τῆς μάχης ἀμφίδοξον λαβούσης τὸ τέλος, συνέβη τούς τε Λακεδαιμονίους ἀμφισ-

[1] So Reiske : ἰσχυρᾶς.
[2] So Reiske : ταύτης.

occupied the passes about Mt. Geraneia. But the Lacedaemonians, having information of the plans of the Athenians, took the route to Tanagra in Boeotia. The Athenians advanced into Boeotia and formed in line of battle, and a fierce struggle took place; and although in the fighting the Thessalians deserted to the Lacedaemonians, nonetheless the Athenians and the Argives fought the battle through and not a few fell in both armies before night put an end to the struggle. After this, when a large supply-train was on its way from Attica for the Athenians, the Thessalians decided to attack it, and taking their evening meal at once, they intercepted by night the supply-train. The Athenians who were guarding the train were unaware that the Thessalians had changed sides and received them as friends, so that many conflicts of various kinds broke out around the convoy. For at first the Thessalians, who had been welcomed by the enemy in their ignorance, kept cutting down all whom they met, and being an organized band engaging with men who had fallen into confusion they slew many of the guards. But the Athenians in the camp, when they learned of the attack of the Thessalians, came up with all speed, and routing the Thessalians at the first charge, they were making a great slaughter of them. The Lacedaemonians, however, now came to the rescue of the Thessalians with their army in battle order, and a pitched battle between the two armies ensued, and such was their rivalry that many were slain on both sides. And finally, since the battle ended in a tie, both the Lacedaemonians and the

[3] καὶ added by Post.
[4] αὐτῆς Capps (cp. *Class. Phil.* 22. 255): τῆς.
[5] καὶ after συνέβη deleted by Dindorf.

βητῆσαι περὶ τῆς νίκης καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. τότε μὲν οὖν ἐπιλαβούσης νυκτὸς καὶ τῆς νίκης ἀμφιδόξου γενομένης, διεπρεσβεύοντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ τετραμηνιαίους σπονδὰς ἐποιήσαντο.

81. Τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυσίου χρόνου διεληλυθότος Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἦρχε Μνησιθείδης, ἐν Ῥώμῃ δ' ὕπατοι κατεστάθησαν Λούκιος Λουκράτιος καὶ Τίτος Οὐετούριος Κιχωρῖνος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Θηβαῖοι μὲν τεταπεινωμένοι διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ξέρξην αὐτοῖς γενομένην συμμαχίαν, ἐζήτουν δι' οὗ τρόπου δύναιντ'
2 ἄν[1] ἀναλαβεῖν τὴν πάτριον ἰσχύν τε καὶ δόξαν. διὸ καὶ τῶν Βοιωτῶν ἁπάντων καταφρονούντων καὶ μηκέτι προσεχόντων τοῖς Θηβαίοις, ἠξίουν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους τῇ πόλει συμπεριποιῆσαι τὴν ὅλην ἡγεμονίαν τῆς Βοιωτίας· ἐπηγγέλλοντο δ' αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ ταύτης τῆς χάριτος ἰδίᾳ πολεμήσειν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὥστε μηδεμίαν ἀνάγκην εἶναι τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις ἐκτὸς τῆς Πελοποννήσου δύναμιν
3 ἐξαγαγεῖν πεζήν. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι . . .[2] κρίναντες συμφέροντα λέγειν αὐτοὺς καὶ νομίζοντες τὰς Θήβας, ἐὰν αὐξήσωσιν, ἔσεσθαι τῆς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὥσπερ ἀντίπαλόν τινα· διόπερ ἔχοντες τότε περὶ Τάναγραν ἕτοιμον καὶ μέγα στρατόπεδον, τῆς μὲν τῶν Θηβαίων πόλεως μείζονα τὸν περίβολον κατεσκεύασαν, τὰς δ' ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ πόλεις
4 ἠνάγκασαν ὑποτάττεσθαι τοῖς Θηβαίοις. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν ἐπιβολὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων διακόψαι σπεύδοντες, δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον συνεστήσαντο, καὶ στρατηγὸν εἵλοντο Μυρωνίδην τὸν Καλλίου·

[1] δύναιντ' ἂν Dindorf: δύναιντο.
[2] The main verb of the sentence has been lost, here or after τινα *infra*.

Athenians laid claim to the victory. However, since night intervened and the victory was still a matter of dispute, each sent envoys to the other and they concluded a truce of four months.[1]

81. When the year ended, in Athens Mnesitheides was archon, and in Rome the consuls elected were Lucius Lucretius and Titus Veturius Cicurinus. During this year the Thebans, who had been humbled because of their alliance with Xerxes,[2] sought a way by which they might recover both their ancient influence and reputation. Consequently, since all the Boeotians held the Thebans in disdain and no longer paid any attention to them, the Thebans asked the Lacedaemonians to aid them in winning for their city the hegemony over all Boeotia; and they promised that in return for this favour they would make war by themselves upon the Athenians, so that it would no longer be necessary for the Spartans to lead troops beyond the border of the Peloponnesus. And the Lacedaemonians [assented], judging the proposal to be to their advantage and believing that, if Thebes should grow in strength, she would be a kind of counterweight to the increasing power of the Athenians; consequently, since they had at the time a large army in readiness at Tanagra, they increased the extent of the circuit wall of Thebes and compelled the cities of Boeotia to subject themselves to the Thebans. The Athenians, however, being eager to break up the plan of the Lacedaemonians, made ready a large army and elected as general Myronides 457 B.C.

[1] This was the battle of Tanagra. Thucydides (1. 108), in contradiction to Diodorus, states that the Lacedaemonians were victorious; at any rate they returned home via the Isthmus without any further opposition on the part of the Athenians.
[2] During the Persian invasion.

οὗτος δὲ καταλέξας τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς ἱκανοὺς παρ-
ήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς, ἐκθέμενος ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ τὴν ἐκ τῆς
5 πόλεως ἀνάζευξιν ἤμελλε ποιεῖσθαι. ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ
συντεταγμένος καιρὸς ἧκε, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν
τινες οὐ κατήντησαν πρὸς τὴν ὡρισμένην ἀφορμήν,[1]
ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς προσεληλυθότας προῆγεν εἰς τὴν
Βοιωτίαν. τῶν δὲ ἡγεμόνων τινὲς καὶ τῶν φίλων
ἔφασαν δεῖν ἀναμένειν τοὺς καθυστεροῦντας, ὁ δὲ
Μυρωνίδης, συνετὸς ὢν ἅμα καὶ δραστικὸς στρατη-
γός,[2] οὐκ ἔφησεν ἀναμενεῖν· ἀπεφαίνετο γὰρ τοὺς
μὲν ἑκουσίως καθυστεροῦντας τῆς ἐξόδου καὶ κατὰ
τὴν μάχην ἀγεννῶς καὶ δειλῶς ἕξειν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
οὐδὲ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος κινδύνους ὑποστήσε-
σθαι, τοὺς δ' ἑτοίμους κατὰ τὴν συντεταγμένην
ἡμέραν παραγενηθέντας φανεροὺς εἶναι διότι καὶ
τὴν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τάξιν οὐ καταλείψουσιν· ὅπερ καὶ
6 συνέβη γενέσθαι. ὀλίγους γὰρ προάγων στρατιώ-
τας, καὶ τούτους ἀρίστους ταῖς ἀνδραγαθίαις,
παρετάξατο κατὰ τὴν Βοιωτίαν πρὸς πολλαπλα-
σίους, καὶ κατὰ κράτος περιεγένετο τῶν ἀντι-
ταχθέντων.

82. Δοκεῖ δ' ἡ πρᾶξις[3] αὕτη μηδεμιᾶς ἀπολείπε-
σθαι τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις γεγενημένων
παρατάξεων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις· ἥ τε γὰρ ἐν Μαρα-
θῶνι γενομένη νίκη καὶ τὸ περὶ Πλαταιὰς κατὰ
Περσῶν προτέρημα καὶ τἆλλα τὰ περιβόητα τῶν
Ἀθηναίων ἔργα δοκεῖ μηδὲν προέχειν τῆς μάχης
2 ἧς ἐνίκησε Μυρωνίδης τοὺς Βοιωτούς. ἐκείνων
γὰρ αἱ μὲν ἐγένοντο πρὸς βαρβάρους, αἱ δὲ συν-
ετελέσθησαν μετ' ἄλλων συμμάχων, ταύτην δὲ

[1] So Capps: ἡμέραν. [2] So Dindorf: στρατηγόν.
[3] So the MSS.; Vogel prefers παράταξις.

the son of Callias. He enrolled the required number of citizens and gave them orders, announcing a day on which he planned to march forth from the city. And when the appointed time arrived and some of the soldiers had not put in appearance at the specified rendezvous, he took those who had reported and advanced into Boeotia. And when certain of his officers and friends said that he should wait for the tardy men, Myronides, who was not only a sagacious general but energetic as well, replied that he would not do so; for, he declared, men who of their own choice are late for the departure will in battle also play an ignoble and cowardly part, and will therefore not withstand the perils of war in defence of their country either, whereas the men who presented themselves ready for service on the appointed day gave clear evidence that they would not desert their posts in the war. And this is what actually took place; for leading forth soldiers who were few in number but the bravest in courage, he drew them up in Boeotia against a vastly superior force and utterly defeated his opponents.

82. In my opinion this action was in no way inferior to any of the battles fought by the Athenians in former times; for neither the victory at Marathon nor the success over the Persians at Plataea nor the other renowned exploits of the Athenians seem in any way to surpass the victory which Myronides won over the Boeotians. For of those other battles, some were fought against barbarians and others were gained with the aid of allies, but this struggle was won

τὴν παράταξιν Ἀθηναῖοι μόνοι διακινδυνεύσαντες
ἐνίκησαν καὶ πρὸς Ἑλλήνων τοὺς ἀρίστους διηγωνί-
3 σαντο. δοκοῦσι γὰρ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ κατὰ τὰς τῶν
δεινῶν ὑπομονὰς καὶ τοὺς πολεμικοὺς ἀγῶνας
μηδενὸς λείπεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων· ὕστερον γοῦν αὐτοὶ
Θηβαῖοι περὶ Λεῦκτρα καὶ Μαντίνειαν μόνοι πρὸς
Λακεδαιμονίους ἅπαντας καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους παρα-
ταξάμενοι μεγίστην μὲν δόξαν ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ κατ-
εκτήσαντο, τῆς δ' Ἑλλάδος ἁπάσης ἡγεμόνες
4 ἀνελπίστως ἐγενήθησαν. τῶν δὲ συγγραφέων,
καίπερ τῆς μάχης ταύτης ἐπιφανοῦς γεγενημένης,
οὐδεὶς οὔτε τὸν τρόπον αὐτῆς οὔτε τὴν διάταξιν
ἀνέγραψε. Μυρωνίδης μὲν οὖν ἐπιφανεῖ μάχῃ νι-
κήσας τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς ἐνάμιλλος ἐγενήθη τοῖς πρὸ
αὐτοῦ γενομένοις ἡγεμόσιν ἐπιφανεστάτοις, Θεμι-
5 στοκλεῖ καὶ Μιλτιάδῃ καὶ Κίμωνι. ὁ δὲ Μυρωνίδης
μετὰ τὴν γενομένην νίκην Τάναγραν μὲν ἐκπολιορ-
κήσας, περιεῖλεν αὐτῆς τὰ τείχη, τὴν δὲ Βοιωτίαν
ἅπασαν ἐπιὼν ἔτεμνε καὶ κατέφθειρε καὶ τοῖς
στρατιώταις διελὼν τὰ λάφυρα πάντας ὠφελείαις
ἁδραῖς ἐκόσμησεν.

83. Οἱ δὲ Βοιωτοὶ παροξυνθέντες ἐπὶ τῇ διαφθορᾷ τῆς χώρας, συνεστράφησαν πανδημεί, καὶ στρατεύσαντες ἤθροισαν μεγάλην δύναμιν. γενομένης δὲ μάχης ἐν Οἰνοφύτοις τῆς Βοιωτίας, καὶ τὸ δεινὸν ἀμφοτέρων ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐρρωμένως ὑπομενόντων, διημέρευσαν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ· μόγις δὲ τῶν

[1] In 371 and 362 B.C. respectively.

[2] Thucydides (1. 108) mentions the battle of Tanagra (*supra*, chap. 80) and that of Oenophyta (*infra*, chap. 83), but not this engagement, and the authority of Diodorus' account is questioned generally by modern historians. What Diodo-

by the Athenians single-handed in pitched battle, and they were pitted against the bravest warriors to be found among the Greeks. For in staunchness in the face of perils and in the fierce contests of war the Boeotians are generally believed to be surpassed by no other people; at any rate, sometime after this the Thebans at Leuctra and Mantineia,[1] when they unaided confronted all the Lacedaemonians and their allies, won for themselves the highest reputation for courage, and contrary to expectation became the leading nation of all Greece. And yet, although this battle of Myronides has become famous, none of our historians has described either the way it was fought or the disposition of the troops engaged in it.[2] Myronides, then, after defeating the Boeotians in a remarkable battle, came to rival the reputations of the most renowned commanders before his time, namely, Themistocles, Miltiades, and Cimon. Myronides after this victory took Tanagra by siege, levelled its walls, and then he passed through all Boeotia, breaking it up and destroying it,[3] and dividing the booty among his soldiers he loaded them all down with spoil in abundance.

83. The Boeotians, exasperated by the wasting of their land, sprang to arms as a nation and when they had taken the field constituted a great army. A battle took place at Oenophyta in Boeotia, and since both sides withstood the stress of the conflict with stout hearts, they spent the day in fighting; but after

rus did was to mistake two accounts of the same battle (of Oenophyta) for two battles (cp. Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.* 3. 1, p. 319).

[3] This refers to the dissolution of the Boeotian League, under the hegemony of Thebes, which had just been re-established by the Spartans (chap. 81. 3).

Ἀθηναίων τρεψαμένων τοὺς Βοιωτούς, ὁ Μυρω-
νίδης πασῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Βοιωτίαν πόλεων
2 ἐγκρατὴς ἐγένετο πλὴν Θηβῶν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα
ἐκ τῆς Βοιωτίας ἀναζεύξας ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Λο-
κροὺς τοὺς ὀνομαζομένους Ὀπουντίους. τούτους
δὲ ἐξ ἐφόδου χειρωσάμενος, καὶ λαβὼν ὁμήρους,
3 ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Παρνασίαν.[1] παραπλησίως δὲ
τοῖς Λοκροῖς καὶ τοὺς Φωκεῖς καταπολεμήσας, καὶ
λαβὼν ὁμήρους, ἀνέζευξεν εἰς τὴν Θετταλίαν,
ἐγκαλῶν μὲν περὶ τῆς γενομένης προδοσίας, προσ-
τάττων δὲ καταδέχεσθαι τοὺς φυγάδας· τῶν δὲ
Φαρσαλίων οὐ προσδεχομένων, ἐπολιόρκει τὴν
4 πόλιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν μὲν πόλιν οὐκ ἠδύνατο βίᾳ
χειρώσασθαι, τὴν δὲ πολιορκίαν πολὺν χρόνον ὑπέ-
μενον οἱ Φαρσάλιοι, τὸ τηνικαῦτα ἀπογνοὺς τὰ
κατὰ τὴν Θετταλίαν ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας.
Μυρωνίδης μὲν οὖν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ μεγάλας πρά-
ξεις ἐπιτελεσάμενος περιβόητον ἔσχε τὴν δόξαν
παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράχθη κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνι-
αυτόν.

84. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Καλλίου παρὰ
μὲν Ἠλείοις Ὀλυμπιὰς ἤχθη μία πρὸς ταῖς ὀγδοή-
κοντα, καθ' ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Πολύμναστος Κυρη-
ναῖος, ἐν Ῥώμῃ δ' ὑπῆρχον ὕπατοι Σερούιος
Σουλπίκιος καὶ Πούπλιος Οὐολούμνιος Ἀμεντῖνος.
2 ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Τολμίδης ὁ τεταγμένος ἐπὶ τῆς
ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως, ἁμιλλώμενος πρὸς τὴν Μυρω-
νίδου ἀρετήν τε καὶ δόξαν, ἔσπευδεν ἀξιόλογόν τι
3 κατεργάσασθαι. διὸ καὶ κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς και-
ροὺς μηδενὸς πρότερον πεπορθηκότος τὴν Λακω-
νικήν, παρεκάλεσε τὸν δῆμον δῃῶσαι τὴν τῶν

[1] So Wurm: φαρσαλίαν.

a severe struggle the Athenians put the Boeotians to flight and Myronides became master of all the cities of Boeotia with the exception of Thebes. After this he marched out of Boeotia and led his army against the Locrians who are known as Opuntian.[1] These he overpowered at the first attack, and taking hostages from them he then entered Parnasia. In like manner as he had done with the Locrians, he also subdued the Phocians, and after taking hostages he marched into Thessaly, finding fault with the Thessalians for their act of treachery and ordering them to receive back their exiles; and when the Pharsalians would not open their gates to him, he laid siege to the city. But since he could not master the city by force and the Pharsalians held out for a long time against the siege, for the present he gave up his designs regarding Thessaly and returned to Athens. Thus Myronides, who had performed great deeds in a short space of time, won among his fellow citizens the renown which was so widely acclaimed.

These, then, were the events of this year.

84. While Callias was archon in Athens, in Elis the 456 B.C.
Eighty-first Olympiad was celebrated, that in which Polymnastus of Cyrenê won the "stadion," and in Rome the consuls were Servius Sulpicius and Publius Volumnius Amentinus. During this year Tolmides, who was commander of the naval forces and vied with both the valour and fame of Myronides, was eager to accomplish a memorable deed. Consequently, since in those times no one had ever yet laid waste Laconia, he urged the Athenian people to ravage the terri-

[1] The Locrians on the Strait of Euboea, so named after their capital Opus.

Σπαρτιατῶν χώραν, ἐπηγγέλλετο δὲ χιλίους ὁπλίτας παραλαβὼν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις μετὰ τούτων πορθήσειν μὲν τὴν Λακωνικήν, ταπεινώσειν δὲ τὴν τῶν
4 Σπαρτιατῶν δόξαν. συγχωρησάντων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, βουλόμενος λαθραίως πλείονας ὁπλίτας[1] ἐξαγαγεῖν, τεχνάζεταί τι τοιοῦτον. οἱ μὲν πολῖται διελάμβανον αὐτὸν καταλέξειν εἰς τὴν στρατιὰν τῶν νέων τοὺς ἀκμάζοντας ταῖς ἡλικίαις καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν εὐρωστοτάτους· ὁ δὲ Τολμίδης σπεύδων μὴ μόνον τοὺς τεταγμένους χιλίους ἐξαγαγεῖν εἰς τὴν στρατείαν, προσιὼν ἑκάστῳ τῶν νέων καὶ τῇ ῥώμῃ διαφερόντων ἔλεγεν ὡς μέλλει καταλέγειν αὐτόν· κρεῖττον οὖν ἔφησεν ἐθελοντὴν στρατεύειν μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ τῶν καταλόγων ἀναγκασθῆναι δοκεῖν.
5 ἐπεὶ δὲ πλείους τῶν τρισχιλίων τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ συνέπεισεν ἐθελοντὴν ἀπογράφεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς οὐκέτι σπεύδοντας ἑώρα, τότε τοὺς ὡμολογημένους χιλίους κατέλεξεν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων.

6 Ὡς δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τἄλλα τὰ πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν ἡτοίμαστο, πεντήκοντα μὲν τριήρεσιν ἀνήχθη καὶ τετρακισχιλίοις ὁπλίταις, καταπλεύσας δὲ τῆς Λακωνικῆς εἰς Μεθώνην, τοῦτο μὲν τὸ χωρίον εἷλε, τῶν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων βοηθησάντων ἀνέζευξε, καὶ παραπλεύσας εἰς τὸ Γύθειον, ἐπίνειον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, χειρωσάμενος δὲ καὶ ταύτην τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ νεώρια τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐμπρήσας, τὴν
7 χώραν ἐδῄωσεν. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἀναχθεὶς ἔπλευσε τῆς Κεφαλληνίας εἰς Ζάκυνθον· ταύτην δὲ χειρωσάμενος καὶ πάσας τὰς ἐν τῇ Κεφαλληνίᾳ πόλεις προσαγαγόμενος, εἰς τὸ πέραν διέπλευσε καὶ κατῆρεν εἰς Ναύπακτον. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ταύτην ἐξ

[1] So Dindorf: πολίτας.

tory of the Spartans, and he promised that by taking one thousand hoplites aboard the triremes he would with them lay waste Laconia and dim the fame of the Spartans. When the Athenians acceded to his request, he then, wishing to take with him secretly a larger number of hoplites, had recourse to the following cunning subterfuge. The citizens thought that he would enrol for the force the young men in the prime of youth and most vigorous in body; but Tolmides, determined to take with him in the campaign not merely the stipulated one thousand, approached every young man of exceptional hardihood and told him that he was going to enrol him; it would be better, however, he added, for him to go as a volunteer than be thought to have been compelled to serve under compulsion by enrolment. When by this scheme he had persuaded more than three thousand to enrol voluntarily and saw that the rest of the youth showed no further interest, he then enrolled the thousand he had been promised from all who were left.

When all the other preparations for his expedition had been made, Tolmides set out to sea with fifty triremes and four thousand hoplites, and putting in at Methonê in Laconia, he took the place; and when the Lacedaemonians came to defend it, he withdrew, and cruising along the coast to Gytheium, which was a seaport of the Lacedaemonians, he seized it, burned the city and also the dockyards of the Lacedaemonians, and ravaged its territory. From here he set out to sea and sailed to Zacynthos which belonged to Cephallenia; he took the island and won over all the cities on Cephallenia, and then sailed across to the opposite mainland and put in at Naupactus. This

ἐφόδου λαβών, κατῴκισεν εἰς ταύτην Μεσσηνίων τοὺς ἐπισήμους, ὑποσπόνδους ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων
8 ἀφεθέντας· κατὰ γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς τοὺς Εἵλωτας καὶ Μεσσηνίους πεπολεμηκότες ἐπὶ πλέον, τότε κρατήσαντες ἀμφοτέρων τοὺς μὲν ἐξ Ἰθώμης ὑποσπόνδους ἀφῆκαν, καθότι προείρηται, τῶν δ' Εἱλώτων τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως κολάσαντες τοὺς ἄλλους κατεδουλώσαντο.

85. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Σωσιστράτου Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ὑπάτους κατέστησαν Πούπλιον Οὐαλέριον Ποπλικόλαν καὶ Γάιον Κλώδιον Ῥήγιλλον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Τολμίδης μὲν περὶ τὴν Βοιωτίαν διέτριβεν, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ Περικλέα τὸν Ξανθίππου, τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, στρατηγὸν κατέστησαν, καὶ δόντες αὐτῷ τριήρεις πεντήκοντα καὶ χιλίους ὁπλί-
2 τας ἐξέπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον. οὗτος δὲ τῆς Πελοποννήσου πολλὴν ἐπόρθησεν, εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἀκαρνανίαν διαβὰς πλὴν[1] Οἰνιαδῶν ἁπάσας τὰς πόλεις προσηγάγετο. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν πλείστων πόλεων ἦρξαν, ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ δὲ καὶ στρατηγίᾳ μεγάλην δόξαν κατεκτήσαντο.

86. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησιν Ἀρίστωνος Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Κόιντον Φάβιον Οὐιβουλανὸν καὶ Λεύκιον Κορνήλιον Κουριτῖνον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Πελοποννησίοις πενταετεῖς ἐγένοντο σπονδαί, Κίμωνος τοῦ Ἀθηναίου συνθεμένου ταύτας.

2 Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν Ἐγεσταίοις καὶ Λιλυβαίταις ἐνέστη πόλεμος περὶ χώρας τῆς πρὸς τῷ Μαζάρῳ ποταμῷ· γενομένης δὲ μάχης ἰσχυρᾶς

city he likewise seized at the first assault and in it he settled the prominent Messenians whom the Lacedaemonians had allowed to go free under a truce. At this time, it may be explained, the Lacedaemonians had finally overcome both the Helots and Messenians, with whom they had been at war over a long period,[1] and the Messenians they had allowed to depart from Ithomê under a truce, as we have said, but of the Helots they had punished those who were responsible for the revolt and had enslaved the rest.

85. When Sosistratus was archon in Athens, the 455 B.C.
Romans elected as consuls Publius Valerius Publicola and Gaius Clodius Regillus. In this year Tolmides was occupied in Boeotia and the Athenians elected as general a man of the aristocracy, Pericles the son of Xanthippus, and giving him fifty triremes and a thousand hoplites, sent him against the Peloponnesus. He ravaged a large part of the Peloponnesus, and then sailed across to Acarnania and won over to Athens all the cities with the exception of Oeniadae. So the Athenians during this year controlled a very large number of cities and won great fame for valour and generalship.

86. When Ariston was archon in Athens, the 454 B.C.
Romans elected as consuls Quintus Fabius Vibulanus and Lucius Cornelius Curitinus. This year the Athenians and Peloponnesians agreed to a truce of five years, Cimon the Athenian having conducted the negotiations.

In Sicily a war arose between the peoples of Egesta and Lilybaeum over the land on the Mazarus River,

[1] The beginning of the war is described in chap. 64 under the year 469, which is five years too early.

[1] So Dindorf: πλησίον (cp. Thuc. 1. 111).

συνέβη πολλοὺς παρ᾽ ἀμφοτέροις ἀναιρεθῆναι καὶ
3 τῆς φιλοτιμίας μὴ λῆξαι τὰς πόλεις. μετὰ δὲ τὴν πολιτογραφίαν τὴν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι γενομένην καὶ τὸν ἀναδασμὸν τῆς χώρας, πολλῶν εἰκῇ καὶ ὡς ἔτυχε πεπολιτογραφημένων, ἐνόσουν αἱ πόλεις καὶ πάλιν εἰς πολιτικὰς στάσεις καὶ ταραχὰς ἐνέπιπτον· μάλιστα δὲ τὸ κακὸν ἐπεπόλασεν ἐν ταῖς Συρακού-
4 σαις. Τυνδαρίδης γάρ τις τοὔνομα, θράσους καὶ τόλμης γέμων ἄνθρωπος, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πολλοὺς τῶν πενήτων ἀνελάμβανε, καὶ σωματοποιῶν τούτους ἑαυτῷ πρὸς τυραννίδα ἑτοίμους ἐποίει δορυφόρους. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἤδη φανερὸς ὢν ὅτι δυναστείας ὀρέγεται, θανάτου κρίσιν ὑποσχὼν
5 κατεδικάσθη. ἀπαγομένου δὲ εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον οἱ πολυωρηθέντες ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ συνεστράφησαν καὶ τοῖς ἀπάγουσι τὰς χεῖρας ἐπέφερον. ταραχῆς δὲ γενομένης κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, συνεστράφησαν οἱ χαριέστατοι τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τοὺς νεωτερίσαντας συναρπάσαντες ἅμα τῷ Τυνδαρίδῃ ἀνεῖλον. πλεονάκις δὲ τούτου γινομένου, καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τυραννίδος ἐπιθυμούντων, ὁ δῆμος ἐπηνέχθη μιμήσασθαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, καὶ νόμον θεῖναι παραπλήσιον τῷ παρ᾽ ἐκείνοις γεγραμμένῳ περὶ ὀστρακισμοῦ.

87. Παρὰ γὰρ Ἀθηναίοις ἕκαστον τῶν πολιτῶν ἔδει γράφειν εἰς ὄστρακον τοὔνομα τοῦ δοκοῦντος μάλιστα δύνασθαι τυραννεῖν τῶν πολιτῶν, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Συρακοσίοις εἰς πέταλον ἐλαίας γράφεσθαι τὸν

[1] Cp. chap. 76.

[2] Cp. chap. 55.

and in a sharp battle which ensued both cities lost heavily but did not slacken their rivalry. And after the enrolment of citizens which had taken place in the cities [1] and the redistribution of the lands, since many had been added to the roll of citizens without plan and in a haphazard fashion, the cities were in an unhealthy state and falling back again into civil strife and disorders; and it was especially in Syracuse that this malady prevailed. For a man by the name of Tyndarides, a rash fellow full of effrontery, began by gathering about him many of the poor, and organizing them into an armed unit he proceeded to make of them a personal bodyguard ready for an attempt to set up a tyranny. But after this, when it was evident that he was grasping after supreme power, he was brought to trial and condemned to death. But while he was being led off to prison, the men upon whom he had lavished his favours rushed together and laid hands upon those who were arresting him. And in the confusion which arose throughout the city the most respectable citizens, who had organized themselves, seized the revolutionists and put them to death along with Tyndarides. And since this sort of thing kept happening time and again and there were men whose hearts were set on a tyranny, the people were led to imitate the Athenians and to establish a law very similar to the one they had passed on ostracism.[2]

87. Now among the Athenians each citizen was required to write on a potsherd (*ostracon*) the name of the man who, in his opinion, was most able through his influence to tyrannize over his fellow citizens; but among the Syracusans the name of the most influential citizen had to be written on an olive

δυνατώτατον τῶν πολιτῶν, διαριθμηθέντων δὲ τῶν πετάλων τὸν πλεῖστα πέταλα λαβόντα φεύγειν
2 πενταετῆ χρόνον. τούτῳ γὰρ τῷ τρόπῳ διελάμβανον ταπεινώσειν τὰ φρονήματα τῶν πλεῖστον ἰσχυόντων ἐν ταῖς πατρίσι· καθόλου γὰρ οὐ πονηρίας κολάσεις ἐλάμβανον παρὰ τῶν παρανομούντων, ἀλλὰ δυνάμεως καὶ αὐξήσεως τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐποίουν ταπείνωσιν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦτο τὸ γένος τῆς νομοθεσίας ὠνόμασαν ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος
3 ὀστρακισμόν, οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι πεταλισμόν. οὗτος δὲ ὁ νόμος διέμεινε παρὰ μὲν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Συρακοσίοις κατελύθη
4 ταχὺ διὰ τοιαύτας τινὰς αἰτίας. τῶν μεγίστων ἀνδρῶν φυγαδευομένων, οἱ χαριέστατοι τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ δυνάμενοι διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀρετῆς πολλὰ τῶν κοινῶν ἐπανορθοῦν ἀφίσταντο τῶν δημοσίων πράξεων, καὶ διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου φόβον ἰδιωτεύοντες διετέλουν, ἐπιμελόμενοι δὲ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας εἰς τρυφὴν ἀπέκλινον, οἱ δὲ πονηρότατοι τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τόλμῃ διαφέροντες ἐφρόντιζον τῶν δημοσίων καὶ τὰ πλήθη πρὸς ταραχὴν καὶ νεωτερισμὸν προ-
5 ετρέποντο. διόπερ στάσεων γινομένων πάλιν, καὶ τῶν πολλῶν εἰς διαφορὰς ἐκτρεπομένων, πάλιν ἡ πόλις εἰς συνεχεῖς καὶ μεγάλας ἐνέπιπτε ταραχάς· ἐπεπόλαζε γὰρ δημαγωγῶν πλῆθος καὶ συκοφαντῶν, καὶ λόγου δεινότης ὑπὸ τῶν νεωτέρων ἠσκεῖτο, καὶ καθόλου πολλοὶ τὰ φαῦλα τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀντὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ σπουδαίας ἀγωγῆς ἠλλάττοντο, καὶ ταῖς μὲν οὐσίαις διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην προέκοπτον, τῆς δ' ὁμονοίας καὶ τοῦ

[1] From *petalon* ("leaf").

leaf, and when the leaves were counted, the man who received the largest number of leaves had to go into exile for five years. For by this means they thought that they would humble the arrogance of the most powerful men in these two cities; for, speaking generally, they were not exacting from violators of the law a punishment for a crime committed, but were effecting a diminution of the influence and growing power of the men in question. Now while the Athenians called this kind of legislation ostracism, from the way it was done, the Syracusans used the name petalism.[1] This law remained in force among the Athenians for a long time, but among the Syracusans it was soon repealed for the following reasons. Since the most influential men were being sent into exile, the most respectable citizens and such as had it in their power, by reason of their personal high character, to effect many reforms in the affairs of the commonwealth were taking no part in public affairs, but consistently remained in private life because of their fear of the law, attending to their personal fortunes and leaning towards a life of luxury; whereas it was the basest citizens and such as excelled in effrontery who were giving their attention to public affairs and inciting the masses to disorder and revolution. Consequently, since factional quarrels were again arising and the masses were turning to wrangling, the city fell back into continuous and serious disorders. For a multitude of demagogues and sycophants was arising, the youth were cultivating cleverness in oratory, and, in a word, many were exchanging the ancient and sober way of life for the ignoble pursuits; wealth was increasing because of the peace, but there was little if any

6 δικαιοπραγεῖν ὀλίγη τις ἐγίνετο φροντίς. διόπερ οἱ Συρακόσιοι μεταγνόντες τὸν περὶ τοῦ πεταλισμοῦ νόμον κατέλυσαν, ὀλίγον χρόνον αὐτῷ χρησάμενοι.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

88. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Λυσικράτους ἐν Ῥώμῃ κατεστάθησαν ὕπατοι Γάιος Ναύτιος Ῥούτιλος καὶ Λεύκιος Μινούκιος Καρουτιανός. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Περικλῆς ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸς ἀποβὰς εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἐδῄωσε τὴν τῶν Σικυωνίων
2 χώραν. ἐπεξελθόντων δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν τῶν Σικυωνίων πανδημεὶ καὶ μάχης γενομένης, ὁ Περικλῆς νικήσας καὶ πολλοὺς κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν ἀνελὼν κατέκλεισεν αὐτοὺς εἰς πολιορκίαν. προσβολὰς δὲ ποιούμενος τοῖς τείχεσι, καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος ἑλεῖν τὴν πόλιν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποστειλάντων βοήθειαν τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις, ἀνέζευξεν ἐκ τῆς Σικυῶνος· εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἀκαρνανίαν πλεύσας καὶ τὴν τῶν Οἰνιαδῶν χώραν καταδραμὼν καὶ λαφύρων πλῆθος ἀθροίσας, ἀπέπλευσεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας.
3 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐλθὼν εἰς Χερρόνησον χιλίοις τῶν πολιτῶν κατεκληρούχησε τὴν χώραν. ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Τολμίδης ὁ ἕτερος στρατηγὸς εἰς τὴν Εὔβοιαν παρελθὼν ἄλλοις χιλίοις πολίταις ταύτην καὶ[1] τὴν τῶν Ναξίων γῆν διένειμε.

4 Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν Τυρρηνῶν λῃζομένων τὴν θάλατταν, οἱ Συρακόσιοι ναύαρχον ἑλόμενοι Φάϋλλον ἔπεμψαν εἰς τὴν Τυρρηνίαν. οὗτος δ' ἐκπλεύσας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον νῆσον τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Αἰθάλειαν ἐπόρθησε, παρὰ δὲ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν λάθρᾳ

[1] ταύτην καὶ added by Wesseling on the basis of Pausanias (1. 27. 5), who says of Tolmides ἐσήγαγε μὲν ἐς Εὔβοιαν καὶ Νάξον Ἀθηναίων κληρούχους.

concern for concord and honest conduct. As a result the Syracusans changed their minds and repealed the law of petalism, having used it only a short while.

Such, then, was the state of affairs in Sicily.

88. When Lysicrates was archon in Athens, in Rome the consuls elected were Gaius Nautius Rutilus and Lucius Minucius Carutianus. During this year Pericles, the general of the Athenians, landed in the Peloponnesus and ravaged the territory of the Sicyonians. And when the Sicyonians came out against him in full force and a battle was fought, Pericles was victorious, slew many as they fled, and shut them up in their city, to which he laid siege. But when he was unable by making assaults upon the walls to take the city, and when, besides, the Lacedaemonians sent aid to the besieged, he withdrew from Sicyon; then he sailed to Acarnania, where he overran the territory of Oeniadae, amassed much booty, and then sailed away from Acarnania. After this he arrived at the Cherronesus[1] and portioned out the land in allotments to one thousand citizens. While these events were taking place, Tolmides, the other[2] general, passed over into Euboea and divided it and the land of the Naxians among another thousand citizens. 453 B.C.

As for the events in Sicily, since the Tyrrhenians were practising piracy at sea, the Syracusans chose Phaÿllus as admiral and sent him to Tyrrhenia. He sailed at first to the island known as Aethaleia[3] and ravaged it, but he secretly accepted a bribe of money from the Tyrrhenians and sailed back to Sicily

[1] The Thracian, in 447 B.C.

[2] *i.e.* in active command.

[3] Elba.

χρήματα λαβών, ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν οὐδὲν
5 ἄξιον μνήμης διαπραξάμενος. οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι τοῦτον μὲν ὡς προδότην καταδικάσαντες ἐφυγάδευσαν, ἕτερον δὲ στρατηγὸν καταστήσαντες Ἀπελλῆν ἐξαπέστειλαν ἐπὶ Τυρρηνοὺς ἔχοντα τριήρεις ἑξήκοντα. οὗτος δὲ τὴν παραθαλάττιον Τυρρηνίαν καταδραμών, ἀπῆρεν εἰς Κύρνον κατεχομένην ὑπὸ Τυρρηνῶν κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους· πορθήσας δὲ πλεῖστα τῆς νήσου καὶ τὴν Αἰθάλειαν χειρωσάμενος, ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας αἰχμαλώτων τε πλῆθος κομίζων καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ὠφέλειαν ἄγων οὐκ
6 ὀλίγην. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Δουκέτιος ὁ τῶν Σικελῶν ἀφηγούμενος τὰς πόλεις ἁπάσας τὰς ὁμοεθνεῖς πλὴν τῆς Ὕβλας εἰς μίαν καὶ κοινὴν ἤγαγε συντέλειαν, δραστικὸς δ' ὢν νεωτέρων ὠρέγετο πραγμάτων, καὶ παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Σικελῶν ἀθροίσας δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον τὰς Μένας, ἥτις ἦν αὐτοῦ πατρίς, μετῴκισεν εἰς τὸ πεδίον, καὶ πλησίον τοῦ τεμένους τῶν ὀνομαζομένων Παλικῶν ἔκτισε πόλιν ἀξιόλογον, ἣν ἀπὸ τῶν προειρημένων θεῶν ὠνόμαζε Παλικήν.

89. Ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ τῶν θεῶν τούτων ἐμνήσθημεν, οὐκ ἄξιόν ἐστι παραλιπεῖν τὴν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀρχαιότητά τε καὶ τὴν ἀπιστίαν καὶ τὸ σύνολον τὸ περὶ τοὺς ὀνομαζομένους κρατῆρας ἰδίωμα. μυθολογοῦσι γὰρ τὸ τέμενος τοῦτο διαφέρειν τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχαιότητι καὶ σεβασμῷ, πολλῶν ἐν αὐτῷ
2 παραδόξων παραδεδομένων. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ κρατῆρές εἰσι τῷ μεγέθει μὲν οὐ κατὰ πᾶν μεγάλοι, πηγὰς δ' ἐξαισίους ἀναβάλλοντες ἐξ ἀμυθήτου τε βυθοῦ καὶ παραπλήσιον ἔχοντες τὴν φύσιν τοῖς

without having accomplished anything worthy of mention. The Syracusans found him guilty of treachery and exiled him, and choosing another general, Apelles, they dispatched him with sixty triremes against the Tyrrhenians. He overran the coast of Tyrrhenia and then passed over to Cyrnus,[1] which was held at those times by the Tyrrhenians, and after sacking many places in this island and subduing Aethaleia, he returned to Syracuse accompanied by a multitude of captives and not a little other spoil. And after this Ducetius, the leader of the Siceli, gathered all the cities which were of the same race, with the exception of Hybla, into one and a common federation; and being an energetic man, he was always grasping after innovations, and so he gathered a large army from the Sicilian League and removed the city of Menae, which was his native state, and planted it in the plain. Also near the sacred precinct of the Palici, as they are called, he founded an important city, which he named Palicê after the gods just mentioned.

89. Since we have spoken of these gods, we should not omit to mention both the antiquity and the incredible nature of the shrine, and, in a word, the peculiar phenomenon of The Craters,[2] as they are called. The myth relates that this sacred area surpasses all others in antiquity and the reverence paid to it, and many marvels there are reported by tradition. For first of all there are craters which are not at all large in size, but they throw up extraordinary streams of water from a depth beyond telling and

[1] Corsica.

[2] The Greek word means "Mixing Bowls." These geysers near Mt. Aetna are mentioned by Vergil (*Aeneid*, 9. 585) and described at length by Macrobius, *Sat.* 5. 19. 15 ff.

λέβησι τοῖς ὑπὸ πυρὸς πολλοῦ καομένοις καὶ τὸ
3 ὕδωρ διάπυρον ἀναβάλλουσιν. ἔμφασιν μὲν οὖν
ἔχει τὸ ἀναβαλλόμενον ὕδωρ ὡς ὑπάρχει διάπυρον,
οὐ μὴν ἀκριβῆ τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν ἔχει διὰ τὸ μηδένα
τολμᾶν ἅψασθαι τούτου· τηλικαύτην γὰρ ἔχει κατά-
πληξιν ἡ τῶν ὑγρῶν ἀναβολὴ ὥστε δοκεῖν ὑπὸ
4 θείας τινὸς ἀνάγκης γίνεσθαι τὸ συμβαῖνον. τὸ μὲν
γὰρ ὕδωρ θείου κατακόρου τὴν ὄσφρησιν ἔχει, τὸ
δὲ χάσμα βρόμον πολὺν καὶ φοβερὸν ἐξίησι· τὸ δὲ
τούτων παραδοξότερον, οὔτε ὑπερεκχεῖται τὸ ὑγρὸν
οὔτε ἀπολείπει κίνησιν δὲ καὶ βίαν ῥεύματος εἰς
5 ὕψος ἐξαιρομένην ἔχει θαυμάσιον. τοιαύτης δὲ
θεοπρεπείας οὔσης περὶ τὸ τέμενος, οἱ μέγιστοι τῶν
ὅρκων ἐνταῦθα συντελοῦνται, καὶ τοῖς ἐπιορκήσασι
συντόμως ἡ τοῦ δαιμονίου κόλασις ἀκολουθεῖ· τινὲς
γὰρ τῆς ὁράσεως στερηθέντες τὴν ἐκ τοῦ τεμένους
6 ἄφοδον ποιοῦνται. μεγάλης δ' οὔσης δεισιδαιμο-
νίας, οἱ τὰς ἀμφισβητήσεις ἔχοντες, ὅταν ὑπό τινος
ὑπεροχῆς κατισχύωνται, τῇ διὰ τῶν ὅρκων τούτων
ἀνακρίσει[1] κρίνονται. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ τέμενος ἔκ
τινων χρόνων ἄσυλον τετηρημένον, καὶ τοῖς ἀτυχοῦ-
σιν οἰκέταις καὶ κυρίοις ἀγνώμοσι περιπεπτωκόσι
7 πολλὴν παρέχεται βοήθειαν· τοὺς γὰρ εἰς τοῦτο
καταφυγόντας οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἐξουσίαν οἱ δεσπόται
βιαίως ἀπάγειν, καὶ μέχρι τούτου διαμένουσιν
ἀσινεῖς, μέχρι ἂν ἐπὶ διωρισμένοις φιλανθρώποις
πείσαντες οἱ κύριοι καὶ δόντες διὰ τῶν ὅρκων
τὰς περὶ τῶν ὁμολογιῶν πίστεις ἀπαγάγωσι.[2]

[1] So Madvig: ἀναιρέσει. [2] So Madvig: ἀπαλλαγῶσι.

have very much the nature of cauldrons which are heated by a strong fire and throw up boiling water. Now the water that is thrown up gives the impression of being boiling hot, but this is not known for certain because of the fact that no man dares touch it; for the amazement caused by the spout of water is so great that men believe the phenomenon to be due to some divine power. For not only does the water give out a strongly sulphurous smell but the yawning mouth emits a mighty and terrifying roar; and what is still more astonishing than this, the water neither pours over nor recedes, but has a motion and force in its current that lifts it to a marvellous height. Since so divine a majesty pervades the sacred area, the most sacred oaths are taken there and men who swear falsely are immediately overtaken by the punishment of heaven; thus certain men have lost their sight when they depart from the sacred precinct. And so great is the awe of the deities of this shrine, that men who are pressing claims, when, for instance, they are being overborne by a person of superior dignity, have their claims adjudicated on the strength of the preliminary examination of the witnesses supported by oaths taken in the name of these deities. This sacred area has also been recognized for some time as a place of sanctuary and has been a source of great aid to luckless slaves who have fallen into the hands of brutal masters; for if they have fled there for refuge, their masters have no power to remove them by force, and they remain there protected from harm until their masters, having gained their consent upon conditions of humane treatment and having given pledges, supported by such oaths, to fulfil their agreements, lead them away.

8 καὶ οὐδεὶς ἱστορεῖται τῶν δεδωκότων τοῖς οἰκέταις πίστιν ταύτην παραβάς· οὕτω γὰρ ἡ τῶν θεῶν δεισιδαιμονία τοὺς ὀμόσαντας πρὸς τοὺς δούλους πιστοὺς ποιεῖ. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὸ τέμενος ἐν πεδίῳ θεοπρεπεῖ κείμενον καὶ στοαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις καταλύσεσιν ἱκανῶς κεκοσμημένον.—περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων ἱκανῶς ἡμῖν εἰρήσθω, πρὸς δὲ τὴν συνεχῆ τοῖς προϊστορημένοις διήγησιν ἐπάνιμεν.

90. Ὁ γὰρ Δουκέτιος τὴν Παλικὴν κτίσας καὶ περιλαβὼν αὐτὴν ἀξιολόγῳ τείχει, κατεκληρούχησε τὴν ὅμορον χώραν. συνέβη δὲ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην διὰ τὴν τῆς χώρας ἀρετὴν καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν
2 οἰκητόρων ταχεῖαν λαβεῖν αὔξησιν. οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον εὐδαιμονήσασα κατεσκάφη, καὶ διέμεινεν ἀοίκητος μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων· περὶ ὧν τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἀναγράψομεν ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις χρόνοις.

3 Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν. κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν μετὰ τὴν κατασκαφὴν τῆς Συβάρεως ὑπὸ τῶν Κροτωνιατῶν ὕστερον ἔτεσιν ὀκτὼ πρὸς τοῖς πεντήκοντα Θετταλὸς συναγαγὼν τοὺς ὑπολοίπους τῶν Συβαριτῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ᾤκισε τὴν Σύβαριν, κειμένην ἀνὰ μέσον ποταμῶν δυοῖν,
4 τοῦ τε Συβάριος καὶ Κράθιος. ἀγαθὴν δ' ἔχοντες χώραν ταχὺ ταῖς οὐσίαις προσανέβησαν. κατασχόντες δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἔτη ὀλίγα πάλιν ἐξέπεσον ἐκ τῆς Συβάρεως· περὶ ὧν τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἀναγράψαι πειρασόμεθα κατὰ τὴν ἐχομένην βίβλον.

[Deest annus Ol. 82, 1 : 452 a. Chr.]

[1] There is no further mention of Palicê in the extant portions of Diodorus.

And history records no case, out of all who have given slaves such a pledge as this, of a violation; so faithful to their slaves does the awe in which these gods are held make those who have taken the oath. And the sacred area, which lies on a plain meet for a god, has been appropriately embellished with colonnades and every other kind of lounging-place.—But let what we have said suffice for this subject, and we shall return to the narrative at the point where our history broke off.

90. Ducetius, after founding Palicê and enclosing it with strong walls, portioned out the neighbouring countryside in allotments. And it came to pass that this city, on account of the fertility of the soil and the multitude of colonists, enjoyed a rapid growth. It did not, however, prosper for long, but was razed to the ground and has remained without habitation until our own day; regarding this we shall give a detailed account in connection with the appropriate period of time.[1]

Such, then, was the state of affairs in Sicily. In Italy, fifty-eight years after the Crotoniates had destroyed Sybaris, a Thessalian [2] gathered together the Sybarites who remained and founded Sybaris anew; it lay between two rivers, the Sybaris and the Crathis. And since the settlers possessed a fertile land they quickly advanced in wealth. But they had possessed the city only a few years when they were again driven out of Sybaris, regarding which event we shall undertake to give a detailed account in the following Book.[3]

(The year 452 B.C. is lacking.)

[2] Presumably one of the Thessalians mentioned in Book 12. 10. 2.
[3] Book 12. 9 ff.

91. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησιν Ἀντιδότου Ῥωμαῖοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Λεύκιον Ποστούμιον καὶ Μάρκον Ὁράτιον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Δουκέτιος ὁ τῶν Σικελῶν ἔχων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Αἴτνην μὲν κατελάβετο, τὸν ἡγούμενον αὐτῆς δολοφονήσας, εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἀκραγαντίνων χώραν ἀναζεύξας μετὰ δυνάμεως Μότυον φρουρούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀκραγαντίνων ἐπολιόρκησε· τῶν δὲ Ἀκραγαντίνων καὶ Συρακοσίων ἐπιβοηθησάντων, συνάψας μάχην καὶ προτερήσας ἐξήλασεν ἀμφοτέρους ἐκ τῶν στρατο-
2 πέδων. καὶ τότε μὲν τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐνισταμένου διεχωρίσθησαν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν, οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι τὸν στρατηγὸν Βόλκωνα, τῆς ἥττης αἴτιον ὄντα καὶ δόξαντα λάθρᾳ συμπράττειν τῷ Δουκετίῳ, καταδικάσαντες ὡς προδότην ἀπέκτειναν. τοῦ θέρους δὲ ἀρχομένου στρατηγὸν ἕτερον κατέστησαν, ᾧ δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον δόντες προσέταξαν κατα-
3 πολεμῆσαι Δουκέτιον. οὗτος δὲ πορευθεὶς μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως κατέλαβε τὸν Δουκέτιον στρατοπεδεύοντα περὶ τὰς Νομάς· γενομένης δὲ παρατάξεως μεγάλης, καὶ πολλῶν παρ' ἀμφοτέροις πιπτόντων, μόγις Συρακόσιοι βιασάμενοι τοὺς Σικελοὺς ἐτρέψαντο, καὶ κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν πολλοὺς ἀνεῖλον. τῶν δὲ διαφυγόντων οἱ πλείους μὲν εἰς τὰ φρούρια τῶν Σικελῶν διεσώθησαν, ὀλίγοι δὲ μετὰ Δουκετίου
4 τῶν αὐτῶν ἐλπίδων μετέχειν προείλοντο. ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Ἀκραγαντῖνοι τὸ Μότυον φρούριον κατεχόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν μετὰ Δουκετίου Σικελῶν ἐξεπολιόρκησαν, καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἀπαγαγόντες πρὸς τοὺς Συρακοσίους νενικηκότας ἤδη κοινῇ κατεστρατοπέδευσαν. Δουκέτιος δὲ διὰ τὴν ἧτταν τοῖς ὅλοις συντριβείς, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν

91. When Antidotus was archon in Athens, the Romans elected as consuls Lucius Postumius and Marcus Horatius. During this year Ducetius, who held the leadership of the Siceli, seized the city of Aetna, having treacherously slain its leader, and then he moved with an army into the territory of the Acragantini and laid siege to Motyum, which was held by a garrison of Acragantini; and when the Acragantini and the Syracusans came to the aid of the city, he joined battle with them, was successful, and drove them both out of their camps. But since at the time winter was setting in, they separated and returned to their homes; and the Syracusans found their general Bolcon, who was responsible for the defeat and was thought to have had secret dealings with Ducetius, guilty of treason and put him to death. With the beginning of summer they appointed a new general, to whom they assigned a strong army with orders to subdue Ducetius. This general, setting out with his army, came upon Ducetius while he was encamped near Nomae; a fierce struggle ensued and many fell on both sides, but with difficulty the Syracusans overpowered and routed the Siceli, slaying many of them as they fled. Of those who survived the battle the larger number found safety in the strongholds of the Siceli, but a few chose to share the hopes of Ducetius. While these things were taking place, the Acragantini forced the capitulation of the stronghold of Motyum, which was held by the Siceli who stayed with Ducetius, and then, uniting their troops with the Syracusans who had already won the victory, they now camped together. As for Ducetius, now that he had been completely crushed by his defeat 451 B.C.

αὐτὸν τῶν μὲν καταλειπόντων, τῶν δ' ἐπιβουλευόντων, εἰς τὴν ἐσχάτην ἦλθεν ἀπόγνωσιν.

92. Τέλος δὲ θεωρῶν τοὺς ὑπολοίπους φίλους μέλλοντας αὐτῷ τὰς χεῖρας προσφέρειν, φθάσας αὐτοὺς καὶ νυκτὸς διαδρὰς ἀφίππευσεν εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας. ἔτι δὲ νυκτὸς οὔσης παρῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν τῶν Συρακοσίων, καὶ καθίσας ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν ἱκέτης ἐγένετο τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἑαυτόν τε καὶ τὴν χώραν ἧς ἦν κύριος παρέδωκε τοῖς Συρακο-
2 σίοις. τοῦ δὲ πλήθους διὰ τὸ παράδοξον συρρέοντος εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντες συνήγαγον ἐκκλησίαν καὶ προέθηκαν βουλὴν περὶ τοῦ Δουκε-
3 τίου τί χρὴ πράττειν. ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν τῶν δημηγορεῖν εἰωθότων συνεβούλευον κολάζειν ὡς πολέμιον καὶ περὶ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων τὴν προσήκουσαν ἐπιθεῖναι τιμωρίαν· οἱ δὲ χαριέστατοι τῶν πρεσβυτέρων παριόντες[1] ἀπεφαίνοντο σώζειν τὸν ἱκέτην, καὶ τὴν τύχην καὶ τὴν νέμεσιν τῶν θεῶν ἐντρέπεσθαι· δεῖν[2] γὰρ σκοπεῖν οὐ τί παθεῖν ἄξιός ἐστι Δουκέτιος, ἀλλὰ τί πρέπει πρᾶξαι Συρακοσίοις· ἀποκτεῖναι γὰρ τὸν πεπτωκότα τῇ τύχῃ μὴ προσῆκον, σώζειν δ' ἅμα τὴν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὸν ἱκέτην ἄξιον εἶναι[3] τῆς τοῦ δήμου
4 μεγαλοψυχίας. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὥσπερ τινὶ μιᾷ φωνῇ σώζειν πάντοθεν ἐβόα τὸν ἱκέτην. Συρακόσιοι μὲν οὖν[4] ἀπολύσαντες τῆς τιμωρίας τὸν Δουκέτιον[5] ἐξέπεμψαν εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον, καὶ ἐνταῦθα προστάξαντες καταβιοῦν τὴν ἱκανὴν αὐτῷ χορηγίαν συναπέστειλαν.

[1] So Hertlein: παρόντες.
[2] So Eichstädt: δεῖ.
[3] So Eichstädt: ἐστι.
[4] οὖν added by Dindorf.
[5] ἱκέτην after Δουκέτιον deleted by Dindorf.

and that some of his soldiers were deserting and others plotting against him, he had come to the depths of despair.

92. Finally, when Ducetius saw that his remaining friends were about to lay hands upon him, he anticipated them by slipping away at night and riding off to Syracuse. And while it was still night he entered the market-place of the Syracusans, and seating himself at the altars he became a suppliant of the city, placing both his person and the land which he controlled at the disposition of the Syracusans. When the multitude poured into the market-place in amazement at the unexpected event, the magistrates called a meeting of the Assembly and laid before it the question of what should be done with Ducetius. Some of those who were accustomed to curry favour with the people advised that they should punish him as an enemy and inflict on him for his misdeeds the appropriate penalty; but the more fairminded of the elder citizens came forward and declared it as their opinion that they should spare the suppliant and show due regard for Fortune and the wrath of the gods. The people should consider, they continued, not what punishment Ducetius deserved, but what action was proper for the Syracusans; for to slay the victim of Fortune was not fitting, but to maintain reverence for the gods as well as to spare the suppliant was an act worthy of the magnanimity of the people. The people thereupon cried out as with one voice from every side to spare the suppliant. The Syracusans, accordingly, released Ducetius from punishment and sent him off to Corinth, ordering him to spend his life in that city and also giving him sufficient means for his support.

5 Ἡμεῖς δὲ παρόντες ἐπὶ τὸν προηγούμενον ἐνιαυτὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίων στρατείας ἐπὶ Κύπρον Κίμωνος ἡγουμένου, κατὰ τὴν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρόθεσιν αὐτοῦ περιγράφομεν τήνδε τὴν βίβλον.

[1] Cp. chap. 1. 1.

Since we are now at the year preceding the campaign of the Athenians against Cyprus under the leadership of Cimon, pursuant to the plan announced at the beginning of this Book [1] we herewith bring it to an end.

BOOK XII

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ δωδεκάτῃ τῶν Διοδώρου βίβλων.

Περὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίων στρατείας ἐπὶ Κύπρον.

Περὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως τῶν Μεγαρέων ἀπὸ Ἀθηναίων.

Περὶ τῆς γενομένης μάχης περὶ Κορώνειαν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Βοιωτοῖς.

Περὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίων στρατείας ἐπὶ τὴν Εὔβοιαν.

Πόλεμος κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν Συρακοσίοις πρὸς Ἀκραγαντίνους.

Κτίσις κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν Θουρίων καὶ στάσις πρὸς ἀλλήλους.

Ὡς Χαρώνδας ὁ Θουρῖνος νομοθέτης αἱρεθεὶς πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος ἐγένετο τῇ πατρίδι.

Ὡς Ζάλευκος νομοθετήσας ἐν Λοκροῖς μεγάλην δόξαν περιεποιήσατο.

Ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς Ἑστιαιεῖς ἐκβαλόντες ἰδίους οἰκήτορας ἐξέπεμψαν.

Περὶ τοῦ γενομένου πολέμου Θουρίοις πρὸς Ταραντίνους.

Περὶ τῆς γενομένης στάσεως ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ.

Περὶ τοῦ γενομένου πολέμου Σαμίοις πρὸς Μιλησίους.

Ὡς Συρακόσιοι στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ Πικηνοὺς τὴν πόλιν κατέσκαψαν.

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On the campaign of the Athenians against Cyprus (chaps. 1-4).

On the revolt of the Megarians from the Athenians (chap. 5).

On the battle at Coroneia between the Athenians and Boeotians (chap. 6).

On the campaign of the Athenians against Euboea (chap. 7).

The war in Sicily between the Syracusans and the Acragantini (chap. 8).

The founding in Italy of Thurii and its civil strife (chaps. 9-11).

How Charondas, who was chosen lawgiver of Thurii, was responsible for many benefits to his native city (chaps. 12-19).

How Zaleucus, the lawgiver in Locri, won for himself great fame (chaps. 20-21).

How the Athenians expelled the Hestiaeans and sent there their own colonists (chap. 22).

On the war between the Thurians and the Tarantini (chap. 23).

On the civil strife in Rome (chaps. 24-26).

On the war between the Samians and the Milesians (chaps. 27-28).

How the Syracusans campaigned against the Picenians and razed their city (chap. 29).

Ὡς κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα συνέστη πόλεμος ὁ κληθεὶς Κορινθιακός.

Ὡς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν τὸ τῶν Καμπανῶν ἔθνος συνέστη.

Ναυμαχία Κορινθίων πρὸς Κερκυραίους.

Ἀπόστασις Ποτιδαίας καὶ Χαλκιδέων ἀπὸ Ἀθηναίων.

Περὶ τῆς γενομένης στρατείας Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ποτιδαιάτας.

Περὶ τῆς γενομένης στάσεως ἐν τοῖς Θουρίοις.

Ὡς Μέτων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος πρῶτος ἐξέθηκε τὴν ἐννεακαιδεκαετηρίδα.

Ὡς τὴν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ Ἡράκλειαν Ταραντῖνοι ἔκτισαν.

Ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης Σπόριος Μαίλιος ἐπιθέμενος τυραννίδι ἀνῃρέθη.

Περὶ τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ κληθέντος πολέμου.

Περὶ τῆς γενομένης μάχης Βοιωτοῖς πρὸς Πλαταιεῖς.

Ὡς τῆς Μεθώνης πολιορκουμένης ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων Βρασίδας ὁ Σπαρτιάτης ἀριστεύσας ἐδοξάσθη.

Ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ Λοκροὺς πόλιν Θρόνιον ἐξεπόρθησαν.

Ὡς Αἰγινῆται ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἀνασταθέντες τὰς καλουμένας Θυρέας κατῴκησαν.

Ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιοι στρατεύσαντες εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὰς κτήσεις κατέφθειραν.

Στρατεία Ἀθηναίων δευτέρα ἐπὶ τοὺς Ποτιδαιάτας.

How the Corinthian War, as it is called, broke out in Greece (chap. 30).

How the nation of the Campani was formed in Italy (chap. 31).

The naval battle between the Corinthians and the Cercyraeans (chaps. 31-33).

The revolt of Potidaea and the Chalcidians from the Athenians (chap. 34).

On the campaign of the Athenians against the Potidaeans (chap. 34).

On the civil strife which arose in Thurii (chap. 35).

How Meton of Athens was the first to expound the nineteen-year cycle (chap. 36).

How the Tarantini founded the city of Heracleia in Italy (chap. 36).

How in Rome Spurius Maelius attempted to seize the supreme power and was put to death (chap. 37).

On the Peloponnesian War, as it is called (chaps. 38-41).

On the battle between the Boeotians and the Plataeans (chap. 42).

How, when Methonê was being besieged by the Athenians, Brasidas the Spartan won distinction and fame (chap. 43).

How the Athenians campaigned against the Locrians and pillaged the city of Thronium (chap. 44).

How the Aeginetans, who had been expelled by the Athenians, colonized Thyreae, as it is called (chap. 44).

How the Lacedaemonians sent an army into Attica and destroyed the properties (chap. 45).

The second campaign of the Athenians against the Potidaeans (chap. 46).

Ἅλωσις Τορώνης καὶ κατασκαφὴ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων.

Ὡς Ἀθηναίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἰδίᾳ συνθεμένων συμμαχίαν ἀπηλλοτριώθησαν αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλεις ἀπ' αὐτῶν.

Ὡς Δήλιοι κατήχθησαν ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων εἰς τὴν πατρίδα.

Ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς Μαντινεῖς καὶ Ἀργείους ἐπολέμησαν.

Βυζαντίων καὶ Καλχηδονίων στρατεία εἰς τὴν Βιθυνίαν.

Περὶ τῶν αἰτιῶν δι' ἃς ἐπὶ Συρακούσας ἐστράτευσαν Ἀθηναῖοι.

The capture and destruction of Toronê by the Athenians (chap. 73).

How, after the Athenians and Lacedaemonians had concluded an alliance between them, the rest of the cities were alienated from them (chaps. 74-76).

How the Delians were restored by the Athenians to their native state (chap. 77).

How the Lacedaemonians waged war upon the Mantineans and Argives (chaps. 78-79).

The campaign of the Byzantians and Calchedonians against Bithynia (chap. 82).

On the reasons why the Athenians launched a campaign against Syracuse (chaps. 83-84).

ΒΙΒΛΟΣ ΔΩΔΕΚΑΤΗ

1. Δικαίως ἄν τις ἀπορήσειε τὸν νοῦν ἐπιστήσας
τῇ κατὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον ἀνωμαλίᾳ· οὔτε γὰρ
τῶν νομιζομένων ἀγαθῶν οὐδὲν ὁλόκληρον εὑρί-
σκεται δεδομένον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οὔτε τῶν κακῶν
αὐτοτελὲς ἄνευ τινὸς εὐχρηστίας. τούτου δὲ τὰς
ἀποδείξεις ἐξέσται λαμβάνειν ἐπιστήσαντας τὴν
διάνοιαν ταῖς προγεγενημέναις πράξεσι, καὶ μά-
2 λιστα ταῖς μεγίσταις. ἡ γὰρ Ξέρξου τοῦ Περσῶν
βασιλέως ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατεία διὰ τὸ μέγεθος
τῶν δυνάμεων τὸν μέγιστον ἐπέστησε φόβον τοῖς
Ἕλλησιν, ὡς ἂν ὑπὲρ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ μελλόντων
πολεμεῖν, καὶ προκαταδεδουλωμένων τῶν κατὰ τὴν
Ἀσίαν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων πάντες ὑπέλαβον καὶ
τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τῆς ὁμοίας τύχης πειράσε-
3 σθαι. τοῦ δὲ πολέμου παρὰ τὴν προσδοκίαν τὸ
τέλος λαβόντος παράδοξον, οὐ μόνον τῶν κινδύνων
ἀπελύθησαν οἱ τὴν Ἑλλάδα κατοικοῦντες, ἀλλὰ
καὶ δόξαν μεγάλην κατεκτήσαντο, καὶ τοσαύτης
εὐπορίας ἐπληρώθη πᾶσα πόλις Ἑλληνὶς ὥστε
πάντας θαυμάσαι τὴν εἰς τοὐναντίον μεταβολήν.
4 ἀπὸ τούτων γὰρ τῶν χρόνων ἐπὶ ἔτη πεντήκοντα
πολλὴν ἐπίδοσιν ἔλαβεν ἡ Ἑλλὰς πρὸς τὴν εὐδαι-
μονίαν. ἐν τούτοις γὰρ τοῖς χρόνοις αἵ τε τέχναι
διὰ τὴν εὐπορίαν ηὐξήθησαν, καὶ τότε μέγιστοι

BOOK XII

1. A man may justly feel perplexed when he stops to consider the inconsistency that is to be found in the life of mankind; for no thing which we consider to be good is ever found to have been given to human beings unadulterated, nor is there any evil in an absolute form without some admixture of advantage. Proofs of this will be obtained if we give thought to the events of the past, especially to those of outstanding importance. For instance, the campaign of Xerxes, the king of the Persians, against Greece aroused the greatest fear among the Greeks by reason of the immensity of his armaments, since the war they were entering might well decide their slavery, and since the Greek cities of Asia had already been enslaved, all men assumed that those of Greece would also suffer a similar fate. But the war, contrary to expectation, came to an amazing end, and not only were the peoples of Greece freed of the dangers threatening them, but they also won for themselves great glory, and every city of Hellas enjoyed such an abundant prosperity that all men were filled with wonder at the complete reversal of their fortune. For from this time over the next fifty years Greece made great advance in prosperity. In these years, for example, plenty brought increase to the arts, and the greatest artists of whom we have record,

μνημονεύονται τεχνῖται γεγονέναι, ὧν ἐστι Φειδίας ὁ ἀγαλματοποιός· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν παιδείαν ἐπὶ πολὺ προέβη, καὶ φιλοσοφία προετιμήθη καὶ ῥητορικὴ παρὰ πᾶσι μὲν Ἕλλησι, μάλιστα δὲ
5 Ἀθηναίοις. φιλόσοφοι μὲν γὰρ οἱ περὶ τὸν Σωκράτη καὶ Πλάτωνα καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην, ῥήτορες δὲ Περικλῆς καὶ Ἰσοκράτης καὶ οἱ τούτου μαθηταί· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἄνδρες ἐπὶ στρατηγίᾳ διαβεβοημένοι, Μιλτιάδης, Θεμιστοκλῆς, Ἀριστείδης, Κίμων, Μυρωνίδης καὶ ἕτεροι πλείονες, περὶ ὧν μακρὸν ἂν εἴη γράφειν.

2. Μάλιστα δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τῇ τε δόξῃ καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ προκόψαντες διωνομάσθησαν καθ' ὅλην σχεδὸν τὴν οἰκουμένην· ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο γὰρ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ηὔξησαν, ὥστε ἄνευ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Πελοποννησίων ἰδίᾳ μεγάλας δυνάμεις Περσικὰς καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν κατηγωνίσαντο, καὶ τὴν περιβόητον Περσῶν ἡγεμονίαν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐταπείνωσαν, ὥστε ἀναγκάσαι πάσας τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν πόλεις
2 ἐλευθερῶσαι κατὰ συνθήκας. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἀκριβέστερον τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἀνεγράψαμεν ἐν δυσὶ βίβλοις, ταύτῃ τε καὶ τῇ πρὸ ταύτης· νυνὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς προκειμένας πράξεις τρεψόμεθα, προ-
3 διορίσαντες τοὺς οἰκείους τῇ γραφῇ χρόνους. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης βίβλῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Ξέρξου στρατείας ποιησάμενοι διήλθομεν τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις ἐπὶ τὸν προηγούμενον ἐνιαυτὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίων στρατείας ἐπὶ Κύπρον Κίμωνος ἡγουμένου· ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀθηναίων στρατείας

including the sculptor Pheidias, flourished at that time; and there was likewise great advance in education, and philosophy and oratory had a high place of honour among all Greeks, and especially the Athenians. For the philosophers were Socrates and Plato and Aristotle, and the orators were Pericles[1] and Isocrates and his pupils; and there were likewise men who have become renowned for generalship, Miltiades, Themistocles, Aristeides, Cimon, Myronides, and others more than these, regarding whom it would be a long task to write.

2. First place belonged to the Athenians, who had advanced so far in both fame and prowess that their name was known throughout practically the entire inhabited world; for they increased their leadership to such a degree that, by their own resources and without the aid of Lacedaemonians or Peloponnesians, they overcame great Persian armaments both on land and on sea, and humbled the famed leadership of the Persians to such an extent that they forced them by the terms of a treaty to liberate all the cities of Asia. But of these matters we have given a detailed and fairly precise account in two Books, this and the preceding, and we shall turn now to the events next in order, after we have first set the time-limits of this section. Now in the preceding Book we began with the campaign of Xerxes and presented a universal history down to the year before the campaign of the Athenians against Cyprus under the command of Cimon[2]; and in this Book we shall commence with the campaign of the Athenians against Cyprus

[1] Cp. chap. 40; but only Pericles and the generals named below belong in this period.
[2] The years 480–451 B.C.

ἐπὶ Κύπρον ποιησάμενοι διέξιμεν ἕως ἐπὶ τὸν ψηφισθέντα πόλεμον ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων πρὸς Συρακοσίους.

3. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος γὰρ Ἀθήνησιν Εὐθυδήμου Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ὑπάτους κατέστησαν Λεύκιον Κοΐντιον Κικιννᾶτον καὶ Μάρκον Φάβιον Οὐιβουλανόν. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἀθηναῖοι διαπεπολεμηκότες ὑπὲρ Αἰγυπτίων πρὸς Πέρσας, καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἁπάσας ἀπολωλεκότες ἐν τῇ λεγομένῃ Προσωπίτιδι νήσῳ, βραχὺν χρόνον διαλιπόντες ἔγνωσαν πάλιν πολεμεῖν τοῖς Πέρσαις ὑπὲρ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἑλλήνων. καταρτίσαντες δὲ στόλον τριήρων διακοσίων, καὶ στρατηγὸν ἑλόμενοι Κίμωνα τὸν Μιλτιάδου, προσέταξαν πλεῖν ἐπὶ Κύπρον καὶ διαπολεμεῖν τοῖς
2 Πέρσαις. ὁ δὲ Κίμων ἀναλαβὼν τὸν στόλον κεκοσμημένον ἀνδρῶν τε ἀρεταῖς καὶ χορηγίαις δαψιλέσιν ἔπλευσεν εἰς τὴν Κύπρον. κατ' ἐκείνους δὲ τοὺς καιροὺς τῶν Περσικῶν δυνάμεων ἐστρατήγουν Ἀρτάβαζος καὶ Μεγάβυζος. Ἀρτάβαζος[1] μὲν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχων ἐν τῇ Κύπρῳ διέτριβεν, ἔχων τριήρεις τριακοσίας, Μεγάβυζος δὲ περὶ τὴν Κιλικίαν ἐστρατοπέδευε, πεζὰς ἔχων δυνάμεις, ὧν ὁ
3 ἀριθμὸς ἦν τριάκοντα μυριάδων. ὁ δὲ Κίμων καταπλεύσας εἰς τὴν Κύπρον καὶ θαλαττοκρατῶν Κίτιον μὲν καὶ Μάριον ἐξεπολιόρκησε, καὶ τοῖς κρατηθεῖσι φιλανθρώπως προσηνέχθη. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκ Κιλικίας καὶ Φοινίκης προσφερομένων τριήρων τῇ νήσῳ, Κίμων ἐπαναχθεὶς καὶ πόλεμον συγκρούσας πολλὰς μὲν τῶν νεῶν κατέδυσεν, ἑκατὸν δὲ σὺν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀνδράσιν εἷλε, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς
4 μέχρι τῆς Φοινίκης κατεδίωξεν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Πέρσαι ταῖς ὑπολειφθείσαις ναυσὶ κατέφυγον εἰς τὴν γῆν,

[1] καὶ Μεγάβυζος. Ἀρτάβαζος added by Stephanus.

and continue as far as the war which the Athenians voted to undertake against the Syracusans.[1]

3. When Euthydemus[2] was archon at Athens, the Romans elected as consuls Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus and Marcus Fabius Vibulanus. In this year the Athenians, who had been at war with the Persians on behalf of the Egyptians and had lost all their ships at the island which is known as Prosopitis,[3] after a short time resolved to make war again upon the Persians on behalf of the Greeks in Asia Minor. And fitting out a fleet of two hundred triremes, they chose Cimon, the son of Miltiades, to be general and commanded him to sail to Cyprus to make war on the Persians. And Cimon, taking the fleet which had been furnished with excellent crews and abundant supplies, sailed to Cyprus. At that time the generals of the Persian armaments were Artabazus and Megabyzus. Artabazus held the supreme command[4] and was tarrying in Cyprus with three hundred triremes, and Megabyzus was encamped in Cilicia with the land forces, which numbered three hundred thousand men. Cimon, when he arrived in Cyprus and was master of the sea, reduced by siege Citium and Marium, treating the conquered in humane fashion. But after this, when triremes from Cilicia and Phoenicia bore down upon the island, Cimon, putting out to sea against them and forcing battle upon them, sank many of the ships, captured one hundred together with their crews, and pursued the remainder as far as Phoenicia. Now the Persians with the ships that were left sought refuge on the land in the region

450 B.C.

[1] The years 450–416 B.C.
[2] Euthynus, *I.A.* iv. 1. 22a.
[3] Cp. Book 11. 77.
[4] Probably only of the fleet.

καθ' ὃν τόπον ἦν Μεγάβυζος ἐστρατοπεδευκὼς μετὰ τῆς πεζῆς[1] δυνάμεως· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι προσπλεύσαντες καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκβιβάσαντες συνῆψαν μάχην, καθ' ἣν Ἀναξικράτης μὲν ὁ ἕτερος τῶν στρατηγῶν λαμπρῶς ἀγωνισάμενος ἡρωικῶς κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι κρατήσαντες τῇ μάχῃ καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνελόντες ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὰς ναῦς. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἀθηναῖοι πάλιν ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν Κύπρον.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράχθη κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος τοῦ πολέμου.

4. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Πεδιέως Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Μάρκον Οὐαλέριον Λακτοῦκαν καὶ Σπόριον Οὐεργίνιον Τρίκοστον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Κίμων ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸς θαλαττοκρατῶν ἐχειροῦτο τὰς κατὰ τὴν Κύπρον πόλεις. ἐν δὲ τῇ Σαλαμῖνι Περσικῆς φρουρᾶς οὔσης ἀξιολόγου, καὶ βελῶν καὶ ὅπλων παντοδαπῶν, ἔτι δὲ σίτου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης παρασκευῆς γεμούσης τῆς πόλεως, ἔκρινε συμφέρειν ταύτην
2 ἐκπολιορκῆσαι. οὕτω γὰρ ὑπελάμβανε μάλιστα τῆς τε Κύπρου πάσης ῥᾳδίως κυριεύσειν καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας καταπλήξεσθαι, βοηθεῖν μὲν τοῖς Σαλαμινίοις μὴ δυναμένους διὰ τὸ θαλαττοκρατεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἐγκαταλιπόντας δὲ τοὺς συμμάχους καταφρονηθήσεσθαι, καθόλου δὲ τὸν ὅλον πόλεμον κριθήσεσθαι τῆς Κύπρου πάσης βίᾳ χειρωθείσης·
3 ὅπερ καὶ συνέβη γενέσθαι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι συστησάμενοι πολιορκίαν πρὸς τῇ Σαλαμῖνι καθ' ἡμέραν προσβολὰς ἐποιοῦντο, οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει στρατιῶται, ἔχοντες βέλη καὶ παρασκευήν, ῥᾳδίως ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἠμύνοντο τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας.

where Megabyzus lay encamped with the land force. And the Athenians, sailing up and disembarking the soldiers, joined battle, in the course of which Anaxicrates, the other general, who had fought brilliantly, ended his life heroically; but the rest were victorious in the battle and after slaying many returned to the ships. After this the Athenians sailed back again to Cyprus.

Such, then, were the events of the first year of the war.

4. When Pedieus was archon in Athens, the 449 B.C. Romans elected as consuls Marcus Valerius Lactuca and Spurius Verginius Tricostus. In this year Cimon, the general of the Athenians, being master of the sea, subdued the cities of Cyprus. And since a large Persian garrison was there in Salamis and the city was filled with missiles and arms of every description, and of grain and supplies of every other kind, he decided that it would be to his advantage to reduce it by siege. For Cimon reasoned that this would be the easiest way for him not only to become master of all Cyprus but also to confound the Persians, since their being unable to come to the aid of the Salaminians, because the Athenians were masters of the sea, and their having left their allies in the lurch would cause them to be despised, and that, in a word, the entire war would be decided if all Cyprus were reduced by arms. And that is what actually happened. The Athenians began the siege of Salamis and were making daily assaults, but the soldiers in the city, supplied as they were with missiles and matériel, were with ease warding off the besiegers from the walls.

[1] So Dindorf: περσικῆς.

4 Ἀρταξέρξης δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς πυθόμενος τὰ περὶ τὴν Κύπρον ἐλαττώματα, καὶ βουλευσάμενος μετὰ τῶν φίλων περὶ τοῦ πολέμου, ἔκρινε συμφέρειν εἰρήνην συνθέσθαι πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. ἔγραψε τοίνυν τοῖς περὶ Κύπρον ἡγεμόσι καὶ σατράπαις ἐφ' οἷς ἂν
5 δύνωνται συλλύσασθαι πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. διόπερ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀρτάβαζον καὶ Μεγάβυζον ἔπεμψαν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς διαλεξομένους περὶ συλλύσεως. ὑπακουσάντων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ πεμψάντων πρέσβεις αὐτοκράτορας, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Καλλίας ὁ Ἱππονίκου, ἐγένοντο συνθῆκαι περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας, ὧν ἐστι τὰ κεφάλαια ταῦτα· αὐτονόμους εἶναι τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις ἁπάσας, τοὺς δὲ τῶν Περσῶν σατράπας μὴ καταβαίνειν ἐπὶ θάλατταν κατωτέρω τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδόν, μηδὲ ναῦν μακρὰν πλεῖν ἐντὸς Φασήλιδος καὶ Κυανέων· ταῦτα δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐπιτελούντων, μὴ στρατεύειν Ἀθηναίους εἰς
6 τὴν χώραν, ἧς βασιλεὺς[1] ἄρχει. συντελεσθεισῶν δὲ τῶν σπονδῶν Ἀθηναῖοι τὰς δυνάμεις ἀπήγαγον ἐκ τῆς Κύπρου, λαμπρὰν μὲν νίκην νενικηκότες, ἐπιφανεστάτας δὲ συνθήκας πεποιημένοι. συνέβη δὲ καὶ τὸν Κίμωνα περὶ τὴν Κύπρον διατρίβοντα νόσῳ τελευτῆσαι.

5. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δὲ Ἀθήνησι Φιλίσκου Ῥωμαῖοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Τίτον Ῥωμίλιον Οὐατικανὸν καὶ Γάιον Οὐετούριον Κιχώριον, Ἠλεῖοι δὲ

[1] Ἀρταξέρξης after βασιλεὺς deleted by Vogel.

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[1] A city of Lycia on the Pamphylian Gulf.
[2] At the entrance to the Black Sea at Byzantium.

Artaxerxes the king, however, when he learned of the reverses his forces had suffered at Cyprus, took counsel on the war with his friends and decided that it was to his advantage to conclude a peace with the Greeks. Accordingly he dispatched to the generals in Cyprus and to the satraps the written terms on which they were permitted to come to a settlement with the Greeks. Consequently Artabazus and Megabyzus sent ambassadors to Athens to discuss a settlement. The Athenians were favourable and dispatched ambassadors plenipotentiary, the leader of whom was Callias the son of Hipponicus; and so the Athenians and their allies concluded with the Persians a treaty of peace, the principal terms of which run as follows: All the Greeks cities of Asia are to live under laws of their own making; the satraps of the Persians are not to come nearer to the sea than a three days' journey and no Persian warship is to sail inside of Phaselis[1] or the Cyanean Rocks[2]; and if these terms are observed by the king and his generals, the Athenians are not to send troops into the territory over which the king is ruler.[3] After the treaty had been solemnly concluded, the Athenians withdrew their armaments from Cyprus, having won a brilliant victory and concluded most noteworthy terms of peace. And it so happened that Cimon died of an illness during his stay in Cyprus.

5. When Philiscus was archon in Athens, the 448 B.C.
Romans elected as consuls Titus Romilius Vaticanus and Gaius Veturius Cichorius; and the Eleians

[3] There was a cessation of hostilities at this time between Athens and Persia; but the specific terms of the treaty, as they are stated here and in fourth-century orators, are clearly false. See Walker in *Camb. Anc. Hist.* 5, pp. 87-88, 469-471.

ἤγαγον Ὀλυμπιάδα τρίτην πρὸς ταῖς ὀγδοήκοντα,
2 καθ' ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Κρίσων Ἱμεραῖος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Μεγαρεῖς μὲν ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους διαπρεσβευσάμενοι συμμαχίαν ἐποίησαν· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι παροξυνθέντες ἐξέπεμψαν στρατιώτας εἰς τὴν τῶν Μεγαρέων χώραν, καὶ τὰς κτήσεις διαρπάσαντες πολλῆς ὠφελείας κύριοι κατέστησαν. τῶν δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως βοηθούντων τῇ χώρᾳ συνέστη μάχη, καθ' ἣν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι νικήσαντες συνεδίωξαν τοὺς Μεγαρεῖς ἐντὸς τῶν τειχῶν.

6. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Τιμαρχίδου Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ὑπάτους κατέστησαν Σπόριον Ταρπήιον καὶ Αὖλον Ἀστέριον Φοντίνιον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐμβαλόντες ἐπόρθησαν πολλὴν χώραν, καὶ τῶν φρουρίων τινὰ πολιορκήσαντες ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, Τολμίδης δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸς εἷλε
2 Χαιρώνειαν. τῶν δὲ Βοιωτῶν συστραφέντων καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Τολμίδην ἐνεδρευσάντων, ἐγένετο μάχη καρτερὰ περὶ τὴν Κορώνειαν, καθ' ἣν Τολμίδης μὲν μαχόμενος ἀνηρέθη, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων οἱ μὲν κατεκόπησαν, οἱ δὲ ζῶντες ἐλήφθησαν. τηλικαύτης δὲ συμφορᾶς γενομένης τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἠναγκάσθησαν ἀφεῖναι τὰς πόλεις ἁπάσας τὰς κατὰ τὴν Βοιωτίαν αὐτονόμους, ἵνα[1] τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀπολάβωσιν.

7. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Καλλιμάχου Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Σέξτον Κοΐντιον

[1] So Cobet: εἶναι or ἐάν.

celebrated the Eighty-third Olympiad, that in which Crison of Himera won the "stadion." In this year the Megarians revolted from the Athenians, and dispatching ambassadors to the Lacedaemonians they concluded an alliance with them. Irritated at this the Athenians sent soldiers into the territory of the Megarians, plundering their properties and seizing much booty. And when the Megarians issued from their city to defend their territory, a battle ensued in which the Athenians were victorious and chased them back within their walls.

6. When Timarchides was archon in Athens, the 447 B.C.
Romans elected as consuls Spurius Tarpeius and Aulus Asterius Fontinius.[1] In this year the Lacedaemonians invaded Attica and ravaged a large part of the countryside, and after laying siege to some of the Athenian fortresses they withdrew to the Peloponnesus; and Tolmides, the Athenian general, seized Chaeroneia. And when the Boeotians gathered their forces and caught Tolmides' troops in an ambush, a violent battle took place at Coroneia, in the course of which Tolmides fell fighting and of the remaining Athenians some were massacred and others were taken alive. The result of a disaster of such magnitude was that the Athenians were compelled to allow all the cities throughout Boeotia to live under laws of their own making,[2] in order to get back their captured citizens.

7. When Callimachus was archon in Athens, the 446 B.C.
Romans elected as consuls Sextus Quinctius . . .

[1] This is probably a corruption of Fontinalis.

[2] The Athenians had established democracies in most of the cities of Boeotia and the oligarchs had consequently withdrawn from them into Thebes, where they mustered their forces to fall upon Tolmides.

. . . Τριγέμινον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τεταπεινωμένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων διὰ τὴν ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ περὶ Κορώνειαν[1] ἧτταν, ἀφίσταντο πολλαὶ τῶν πόλεων ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων. μάλιστα δὲ τῶν κατοικούντων τὴν Εὔβοιαν νεωτεριζόντων, Περικλῆς[2] αἱρεθεὶς στρατηγὸς ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Εὔβοιαν μετὰ δυνάμεως ἀξιολόγου, καὶ τὴν μὲν πόλιν τῶν Ἑστιαιῶν ἑλὼν κατὰ κράτος ἐξῴκισε τοὺς Ἑστιαιεῖς ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, τὰς δ' ἄλλας καταπληξάμενος ἠνάγκασε πάλιν πειθαρχεῖν Ἀθηναίοις.

Σπονδὰς δ' ἐποίησαν τριακονταετεῖς, Καλλίου καὶ Χάρητος συνθεμένων καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην βεβαιωσάντων.

8. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν Συρακοσίοις πρὸς Ἀκραγαντίνους συνέστη πόλεμος διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας. Συρακόσιοι καταπολεμήσαντες Δουκέτιον δυνάστην τῶν Σικελῶν, καὶ γενόμενον ἱκέτην ἀπολύσαντες τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, ἀπέδειξαν αὐτῷ τὴν
2 τῶν Κορινθίων πόλιν οἰκητήριον. οὗτος δὲ ὀλίγον χρόνον μείνας ἐν τῇ Κορίνθῳ τὰς ὁμολογίας ἔλυσε, καὶ προσποιησάμενος χρησμὸν ὑπὸ θεῶν αὐτῷ δεδόσθαι κτίσαι τὴν Καλὴν Ἀκτὴν ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ, κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὴν νῆσον μετά τινων οἰκητόρων· συνεπελάβοντο δὲ καὶ τῶν Σικελῶν τινες, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ Ἀρχωνίδης ὁ τῶν Ἑρβιταίων δυναστεύων. οὗτος μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν οἰκισμὸν τῆς Καλῆς Ἀκτῆς
3 ἐγίνετο. Ἀκραγαντῖνοι δὲ ἅμα μὲν φθονοῦντες τοῖς Συρακοσίοις, ἅμα δ' ἐγκαλοῦντες αὐτοῖς ὅτι Δουκέτιον ὄντα κοινὸν πολέμιον διέσωσαν ἄνευ τῆς Ἀκραγαντίνων γνώμης, πόλεμον ἐξήνεγκαν
4 τοῖς Συρακοσίοις. σχιζομένων δὲ τῶν Σικελικῶν

[1] So Wesseling: Χαιρώνειαν.
[2] δὲ after Περικλῆς deleted by Reiske.

Trigeminus. In this year, since the Athenians had been weakened in Greece because of their defeat in Boeotia at Coroneia, many cities revolted from them. Since the inhabitants of Euboea were taking the lead in the revolution, Pericles, who had been chosen general, made a campaign against Euboea with a strong force, and taking the city of Hestiaea by storm he removed the inhabitants from their native city; and the other cities he terrified and forced back into obedience to the Athenians.

A truce [1] was made for thirty years, Callias and Chares negotiating and confirming the peace.

8. In Sicily a war broke out between the Syracusans and Acragantini for the following reasons. The Syracusans had overcome Ducetius, the ruler of the Siceli, cleared him of all charges when he became a suppliant, and specified that he should make his home in the city of the Corinthians.[2] But after Ducetius had spent a short time in Corinth he broke the agreement, and on the plea that the gods had given him an oracular reply that he should found a city on the Fair Shore [3] (*Calê Actê*) of Sicily, he sailed to the island with a number of colonists; some Siceli were also included, among whom was Archonides, the ruler of Herbita. He, then, was busied with the colonization of *Calê Actê*.[4] But the Acragantini, partly because they were envious of the Syracusans and partly because they were accusing them of letting Ducetius, who was their common enemy, go free without consulting them, declared war upon the Syracusans. The cities of Sicily were divided, some

[1] Between Athens and Sparta.
[2] Cp. Book 11. 92.
[3] The northern shore.
[4] The city.

πόλεων, καὶ τῶν μὲν τοῖς Ἀκραγαντίνοις, τῶν δὲ τοῖς Συρακοσίοις συστρατευόντων, ἠθροίσθησαν παρ' ἀμφοτέροις δυνάμεις ἀξιόλογοι. φιλοτιμίας δὲ μεγάλης γενομένης ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἀντεστρατοπέδευσαν ἀλλήλοις περὶ τὸν Ἱμέραν ποταμόν, καὶ γενομένης παρατάξεως ἐνίκησαν οἱ Συρακόσιοι, καὶ τῶν Ἀκραγαντίνων ἀνεῖλον ὑπὲρ τοὺς χιλίους. μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην διαπρεσβευσαμένων περὶ συνθέσεως τῶν Ἀκραγαντίνων, οἱ Συρακόσιοι συνέθεντο τὴν εἰρήνην.

9. Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν. κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν συνέβη κτισθῆναι τὴν τῶν Θουρίων πόλιν δι' αἰτίας τοιαύτας. ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις Ἑλλήνων κτισάντων κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πόλιν Σύβαριν, συνέβη ταύτην λαβεῖν ταχεῖαν
2 αὔξησιν διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς χώρας. κειμένης γὰρ ἀνὰ μέσον δυεῖν ποταμῶν, τοῦ τε Κράθιος καὶ τοῦ Συβάριος, ἀφ' οὗ ταύτης ἔτυχε τῆς προσηγορίας, οἱ κατοικισθέντες νεμόμενοι πολλὴν καὶ καρποφόρον χώραν μεγάλους ἐκτήσαντο πλούτους. πολλοῖς δὲ μεταδιδόντες τῆς πολιτείας ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο προέβησαν ὥστε δόξαι πολὺ προέχειν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν οἰκούντων, πολυανθρωπίᾳ τε τοσοῦτο διήνεγκαν, ὥστε τὴν πόλιν ἔχειν πολιτῶν τριάκοντα μυριάδας.

Γενόμενος δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς δημαγωγὸς Τῆλυς, καὶ κατηγορῶν τῶν μεγίστων ἀνδρῶν, ἔπεισε τοὺς Συβαρίτας φυγαδεῦσαι τοὺς εὐπορωτάτους τῶν πολιτῶν πεντακοσίους καὶ τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν δη-
3 μεῦσαι. τῶν δὲ φυγάδων παρελθόντων εἰς Κρότωνα καὶ καταφυγόντων ἐπὶ τοὺς εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν βωμούς, ὁ μὲν Τῆλυς ἐξέπεμψε πρεσβευτὰς πρὸς τοὺς Κροτωνιάτας, οἷς ἦν προστεταγμένον ἢ τοὺς

of them taking the field with the Acragantini and others with the Syracusans, and so large armaments were mustered on both sides. Great emulation was shown by the cities as they pitched opposing camps at the Himera River, and in the conflict which followed the Syracusans were victorious and slew more than a thousand Acragantini. After the battle the Acragantini sent ambassadors to discuss terms and the Syracusans concluded a peace.

9. These, then, were the events in Sicily. And in Italy the city of Thurii came to be founded,[1] for the following reasons. When in former times the Greeks had founded Sybaris in Italy, the city had enjoyed a rapid growth because of the fertility of the land. For lying as the city did between two rivers, the Crathis and the Sybaris, from which it derived its name, its inhabitants, who tilled an extensive and fruitful countryside, came to possess great riches. And since they kept granting citizenship to many aliens, they increased to such an extent that they were considered to be far the first among the inhabitants of Italy; indeed they so excelled in population that the city possessed three hundred thousand citizens.

Now there arose among the Sybarites a leader of the people named Telys,[2] who brought charges against the most influential men and persuaded the Sybarites to exile the five hundred wealthiest citizens and confiscate their estates. And when these exiles went to Croton and took refuge at the altars in the marketplace, Telys dispatched ambassadors to the Crotoniates, commanding them either to deliver up the exiles

[1] In 444 B.C., two years later than by Diodorus' chronology.
[2] In 511 B.C.

4 φυγάδας ἐκδοῦναι ἢ πόλεμον προσδέχεσθαι. συναχθείσης δὲ ἐκκλησίας καὶ προτεθείσης βουλῆς, πότερον χρὴ τοὺς ἱκέτας ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς Συβαρίταις ἢ πόλεμον ὑπομεῖναι πρὸς δυνατωτέρους, ἀπορουμένης τε τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ τοῦ δήμου, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔρρεπε ταῖς γνώμαις τὸ πλῆθος πρὸς τὴν ἀπόδοσιν τῶν ἱκετῶν διὰ τὸν πόλεμον· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Πυθαγόρου τοῦ φιλοσόφου συμβουλεύσαντος σώζειν τοὺς ἱκέτας, μετέπεσον ταῖς γνώμαις καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἱκετῶν σωτηρίας ἀν-
5 είλοντο. στρατευσάντων δ' ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τῶν Συβαριτῶν τριάκοντα μυριάσιν ἀντετάχθησαν οἱ Κροτωνιᾶται δέκα μυριάσι, Μίλωνος τοῦ ἀθλητοῦ ἡγουμένου καὶ διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς τοῦ σώματος ῥώμης πρώτου τρεψαμένου τοὺς καθ' αὑτὸν
6 τεταγμένους. ὁ γὰρ ἀνὴρ οὗτος, ἑξάκις Ὀλύμπια νενικηκὼς καὶ τὴν ἀλκὴν ἀκόλουθον ἔχων τῇ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα φύσει, λέγεται πρὸς τὴν μάχην ἀπαντῆσαι κατεστεφανωμένος μὲν τοῖς Ὀλυμπικοῖς στεφάνοις διεσκευασμένος δὲ εἰς Ἡρακλέους σκευὴν λεοντῇ καὶ ῥοπάλῳ· αἴτιον δὲ γενόμενον τῆς νίκης θαυμασθῆναι παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις.

10. Τῶν δὲ Κροτωνιατῶν διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν ζωγρεῖν μὲν μηδένα βουληθέντων πάντας δὲ κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν τοὺς ὑποπεσόντας ἀποκτεινόντων, οἱ πλείους κατεκόπησαν, τὴν δὲ πόλιν διήρπασαν καὶ παντελῶς
2 ἔρημον ἐποίησαν. ὕστερον δὲ ἔτεσιν ὀκτὼ πρὸς τοῖς πεντήκοντα Θετταλοὶ συνῴκισαν, καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον ὑπὸ Κροτωνιατῶν ἐξέπεσον[1] κατὰ τοὺς ὑπο-
3 κειμένους καιρούς.[2] καὶ μετὰ βραχὺ μετασταθεῖσα

[1] πέντε ἔτεσιν ὕστερον τοῦ δευτέρου συνοικισμοῦ after ἐξέπεσον deleted by Vogel (cp. 11. 90. 4).

or to expect war. An assembly of the people was convened and deliberation proposed on the question whether they should surrender the suppliants to the Sybarites or face a war with a superior foe, and the Council and people were at a loss what to do. At first the sentiments of the masses, from fear of the war, leaned toward handing over the suppliants, but after this, when Pythagoras the philosopher advised that they grant safety to the suppliants, they changed their opinions and accepted the war on behalf of the safety of the suppliants. When the Sybarites advanced against them with three hundred thousand men, the Crotoniates opposed them with one hundred thousand under the command of Milo the athlete, who by reason of his great physical strength was the first to put to flight his adversaries. For we are told that this man, who had won the prize in Olympia six times and whose courage was of the measure of his physical body, came to battle wearing his Olympic crowns and equipped with the gear of Heracles, lion's skin and club; and he won the admiration of his fellow citizens as responsible for their victory.

10. Since the Crotoniates in their anger would take no prisoners but slew all who fell into their hands in the flight, the larger number of the Sybarites perished; and they plundered the city of Sybaris and laid it entirely waste. Fifty-eight years later[1] Thessalians joined in settling the city, but after a little while they were driven out by the Crotoniates, in the period we are now discussing. And shortly thereafter the city was moved to another site and

[1] In 453 B.C.

[2] ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Καλλιμάχου συνῳκίσθη after καιροὺς deleted by Vogel.

εἰς ἕτερον τόπον προσηγορίας ἑτέρας ἔτυχε, κτι-
στῶν γενομένων Λάμπωνος καὶ Ξενοκρίτου τοῦτον
τὸν τρόπον.

Οἱ γὰρ τὸ δεύτερον ἐκπεσόντες ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος
Συβαρῖται πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πρὸς
Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Ἀθηναίους, ἀξιοῦντες συνεπι-
λαβέσθαι τῆς καθόδου καὶ κοινωνῆσαι τῆς ἀποι-
4 κίας. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν οὖν οὐ προσέσχον αὐτοῖς,
Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ συμπράξειν ἐπαγγειλάμενοι, δέκα ναῦς
πληρώσαντες ἀπέστειλαν τοῖς Συβαρίταις, ὧν
ἡγεῖτο Λάμπων τε καὶ Ξενόκριτος· ἐκήρυξαν δὲ
κατὰ τὰς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεις κοινοποιούμενοι
τὴν ἀποικίαν τῷ βουλομένῳ μετέχειν τῆς ἀποικίας.
5 ὑπακουσάντων δὲ πολλῶν καὶ λαβόντων χρησμὸν
παρὰ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, ὅτι δεῖ κτίσαι πόλιν αὐτοὺς
ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ, ὅπου μέλλουσιν οἰκεῖν

μέτρῳ[1] ὕδωρ πίνοντες, ἀμετρὶ δὲ μᾶζαν ἔδοντες,

κατέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ καταντήσαντες
εἰς τὴν Σύβαριν ἐζήτουν τὸν[2] τόπον ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἦν
6 προστεταχὼς κατοικεῖν. εὑρόντες δὲ οὐκ ἄπωθεν
τῆς Συβάρεως κρήνην ὀνομαζομένην Θουρίαν,
ἔχουσαν αὐλὸν χάλκεον ὃν ἐκάλουν οἱ ἐγχώριοι
μέδιμνον, νομίσαντες εἶναι τοῦτον τὸν τόπον τὸν
δηλούμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ περιέβαλον τεῖχος, καὶ
κτίσαντες πόλιν ὠνόμασαν ἀπὸ τῆς κρήνης Θού-
7 ριον. τὴν δὲ πόλιν διελόμενοι κατὰ μὲν μῆκος
εἰς τέτταρας πλατείας, ὧν καλοῦσι τὴν μὲν μίαν
Ἡράκλειαν, τὴν δὲ Ἀφροδισίαν, τὴν δὲ Ὀλυμπι-
άδα, τὴν δὲ Διονυσιάδα, κατὰ δὲ τὸ πλάτος διεῖλον

[1] So Schäfer : μέτριον, which Vogel retains.
[2] τὸν added by Dindorf.

received another name, its founders being Lampon and Xenocritus; the circumstances of its refounding were as follows.

The Sybarites who were driven a second time from their native city dispatched ambassadors to Greece, to the Lacedaemonians and Athenians, requesting that they assist their repatriation and take part in the settlement. Now the Lacedaemonians paid no attention to them, but the Athenians promised to join in the enterprise, and they manned ten ships and sent them to the Sybarites under the leadership of Lampon and Xenocritus; they further sent word to the several cities of the Peloponnesus, offering a share in the colony to anyone who wished to take part in it. Many accepted the offer and received an oracular response from Apollo that they should found a city in the place where there would be

Water to drink in due measure, but bread to eat
without measure.

They put in at Italy and arriving at Sybaris they set about hunting the place which the god had ordered them to colonize. Having found not far from Sybaris a spring called Thuria, which had a bronze pipe which the natives of the region called *medimnos*,[1] and believing this to be the place which the god had pointed out, they threw a wall about it, and founding a city there they named it Thurium after the spring. They divided the city lengthwise by four streets, the first of which they named Heracleia, the second Aphrodisia, the third Olympias, and the fourth Dionysias, and breadthwise they divided it by three streets, of

[1] *Medimnos* among the Greeks was a measure of grain.

εἰς τρεῖς πλατείας, ὧν ἡ μὲν ὠνομάσθη Ἡρῴα, ἡ δὲ Θουρία, ἡ δὲ Θουρῖνα. τούτων δὲ τῶν στενωπῶν πεπληρωμένων ταῖς οἰκίαις[1] ἡ πόλις ἐφαίνετο καλῶς κατεσκευάσθαι.

11. Ὀλίγον δὲ χρόνον ὁμονοήσαντες οἱ Θούριοι στάσει μεγάλῃ περιέπεσον οὐκ ἀλόγως. οἱ γὰρ προϋπάρχοντες Συβαρῖται τὰς μὲν ἀξιολογωτάτας ἀρχὰς ἑαυτοῖς προσένεμον, τὰς δ᾽ εὐτελεῖς τοῖς ὕστερον προσγεγραμμένοις πολίταις· καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐπιθύειν τοῖς θεοῖς ᾤοντο δεῖν πρώτας μὲν τὰς πολίτιδας, ὑστέρας δὲ τὰς μεταγενεστέρας· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὴν μὲν σύνεγγυς τῇ πόλει χώραν κατεκληρούχουν ἑαυτοῖς, τὴν δὲ πόρρω κειμένην
2 τοῖς ἐπήλυσι. γενομένης δὲ διαφορᾶς διὰ τὰς εἰρημένας αἰτίας, οἱ προσγραφέντες ὕστερον πολῖται πλείους καὶ κρείττονες ὄντες ἀπέκτειναν σχεδὸν ἅπαντας τοὺς προϋπάρχοντας Συβαρίτας καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοὶ κατῴκησαν. πολλῆς δὲ οὔσης καὶ καλῆς χώρας, οἰκήτορας ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος μεταπεμψάμενοι συχνούς, διενείμαντο τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν
3 χώραν ἐπ᾽ ἴσης ἔνεμον. οἱ δὲ διαμένοντες ταχὺ πλούτους μεγάλους ἐκτήσαντο, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Κροτωνιάτας φιλίαν συνθέμενοι καλῶς ἐπολιτεύοντο. συστησάμενοι δὲ πολίτευμα δημοκρατικὸν διεῖλον τοὺς πολίτας εἰς δέκα φυλάς, καὶ τὰς προσηγορίας ἁπάσαις[2] περιέθηκαν ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν, τρεῖς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου συναχθέντων ὀνομάσαντες Ἀρκάδα καὶ Ἀχαΐδα καὶ Ἠλείαν, τὰς

[1] So Wesseling: τὰς οἰκίας.
[2] So Dindorf: ἁπάσας

which the first was named Heroa, the second Thuria, and the last Thurina. And since the quarters formed by these streets were filled with dwellings, the construction of the city appeared to be good.

11. For a short time only did the Thurians live together in peace, and then they fell into serious civil strife, not without reason. The former Sybarites, it appears, were assigning the most important offices to themselves and the lower ones to the citizens who had been enrolled later; their wives they also thought should enjoy precedence among the citizenesses in the offering of sacrifices to the gods, and the wives of the later citizens should take second place to them; furthermore, the land lying near the city they were portioning out in allotments among themselves, and the more distant land to the newcomers. And when a division arose for the causes we have mentioned, the citizens who had been added to the rolls after the others, being more numerous and more powerful, put to death practically all of the original Sybarites and took upon themselves the colonization of the city. Since the countryside was extensive and rich, they sent for colonists in large numbers from Greece, and to these they assigned parts of the city and gave them equal shares of the land. Those who continued to live in the city quickly came to possess great wealth, and concluding friendship with the Crotoniates they administered their state in admirable fashion. Establishing a democratic form of government, they divided the citizens into ten tribes, to each of which they assigned a name based on the nationality of those who constituted it: three tribes composed of peoples gathered from the Peloponnesus they named the Arcadian, the Achaean, and the

ἴσας δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξωθεν ὁμοεθνῶν, Βοιωτίαν, Ἀμφικτυονίδα, Δωρίδα, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς τέτταρας ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων γενῶν, Ἰάδα, Ἀθηναΐδα, Εὐβοΐδα, Νησιῶτιν. εἵλοντο δὲ καὶ νομοθέτην τὸν ἄριστον τῶν ἐν παιδείᾳ θαυμαζομένων πολιτῶν Χαρώνδαν.
4 οὗτος δὲ ἐπισκεψάμενος τὰς ἁπάντων νομοθεσίας ἐξελέξατο τὰ κράτιστα καὶ κατέταξεν εἰς τοὺς νόμους· πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἴδια ἐπινοησάμενος ἐξεῦρε, περὶ ὧν οὐκ ἀνοίκειόν ἐστιν ἐπιμνησθῆναι πρὸς διόρθωσιν τῶν ἀναγινωσκόντων.

12. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τοῖς μητρυιὰν ἐπαγομένοις κατὰ τῶν ἰδίων τέκνων ἔθηκε πρόστιμον τὸ μὴ γίνεσθαι συμβούλους τούτους τῇ πατρίδι, νομίζων τοὺς κακῶς περὶ τῶν ἰδίων τέκνων βουλευσαμένους καὶ συμβούλους κακοὺς ἔσεσθαι τῇ πατρίδι. ἔφη γὰρ τοὺς μὲν πρῶτον γήμαντας καὶ ἐπιτυχόντας δεῖν εὐημεροῦντας καταπαύειν, τοὺς δὲ ἀποτυχόντας τῷ γάμῳ καὶ πάλιν ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς
2 ἁμαρτάνοντας ἄφρονας δεῖν ὑπολαμβάνεσθαι. τοὺς δ᾽ ἐπὶ συκοφαντίᾳ καταγνωσθέντας προσέταξε περιπατεῖν ἐστεφανωμένους μυρίκῃ, ὅπως ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς πολίταις φαίνωνται τὸ πρωτεῖον τῆς πονηρίας περιπεποιημένοι. διὸ καί τινας ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ ἐγκλήματι καταδικασθέντας τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ὕβρεως οὐκ ἐνεγκόντας ἑκουσίως ἑαυτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν μεταστῆσαι. οὗ συντελεσθέντος ἐφυγαδεύθη πᾶς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὁ συκοφαντεῖν εἰωθώς, καὶ τὸ

[1] Charondas must be placed in the late 7th and early 6th centuries B.C. Aristotle (*Politics*, 2. 12) states that he legislated for his native city of Catana and for the other Chalcidian cities of Sicily and Italy, and praises the precision of his laws. The legal fragments which Diodorus attributes to him are taken to be of Neo-Pythagorean origin.

Eleian; the same number, gathered from related peoples living outside the Peloponnesus, they named the Boeotian, Amphictyonian, and Dorian; and the remaining four, constituted from other peoples, the Ionian, the Athenian, the Euboean, and the Islander. They also chose for their lawgiver the best man among such of their citizens as were admired for their learning, this being Charondas.[1] He, after examining the legislations of all peoples, singled out the best principles and incorporated them in his laws; and he also worked out many principles which were his own discovery, and these it is not foreign to our purpose to mention for the edification of our readers.

12. First of all, in the case of men who brought home a stepmother over their children he ordained as their punishment that they should have no part in counselling their fatherland, since he believed that men who planned so badly with respect to their own children would likewise be bad counsellors for their fatherland. For, he said, whoever had been fortunate in their first marriages should rest satisfied with their good lot, whereas whoever had been unfortunate in marriage and then made the same mistake a second time should be regarded as men without sense. Men who had been found guilty of false accusation should, he decreed, wear wherever they went a wreath of tamarisk, in order that they might show to all their fellow citizens that they had won the highest prize for wickedness. As a consequence certain men who had been judged guilty of this charge, being unable to bear their great disgrace, voluntarily removed themselves from life. When this took place, every man who had made a practice of false accusation was banished from the city, and the

πολίτευμα μακάριον εἶχε βίον τῆς τοιαύτης κακίας ἀπηλλαγμένον.

3 Ἔγραψε δὲ ὁ Χαρώνδας καὶ περὶ τῆς κακομιλίας νόμον ἐξηλλαγμένον καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις νομοθέταις παρεωραμένον. ὑπολαβὼν γὰρ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἐνίοτε διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς πονηροὺς φιλίαν καὶ συνήθειαν διαστρέφεσθαι τὰ ἤθη πρὸς κακίαν, καὶ τὴν φαυλότητα καθάπερ λοιμικὴν νόσον ἐπινέμεσθαι τὸν βίον τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ νοσοποιεῖν τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀρίστων· κατάντης γὰρ ἡ πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον ὁδός, ῥᾳδίαν ἔχουσα τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν· διὸ καὶ τῶν μετρίων πολλοὶ τοῖς ἤθεσιν, ὑπούλοις ἡδοναῖς δελεασθέντες, εἰς ἐπιτηδεύσεις χειρίστας περιώκειλαν· ταύτην οὖν τὴν διαφθορὰν ἀναστεῖλαι βουλόμενος ὁ νομοθέτης ἀπηγόρευσε τῇ τῶν πονηρῶν φιλίᾳ τε καὶ συνηθείᾳ χρήσασθαι, καὶ δίκας ἐποίησε κακομιλίας, καὶ προστίμοις μεγάλοις ἀπέτρεψε[1] τοὺς ἁμαρτάνειν μέλλοντας.

4 Ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ ἕτερον νόμον πολὺ[2] τούτου κρείττονα καὶ τοῖς παλαιοτέροις αὐτοῦ νομοθέταις ἠμελημένον· ἐνομοθέτησε γὰρ τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς υἱεῖς[3] ἅπαντας μανθάνειν γράμματα, χορηγούσης τῆς πόλεως τοὺς μισθοὺς τοῖς διδασκάλοις. ὑπέλαβε γὰρ τοὺς ἀπόρους τοῖς βίοις, ἰδίᾳ μὴ δυναμένους διδόναι μισθούς, ἀποστερήσεσθαι τῶν καλλίστων ἐπιτηδευμάτων.

13. Τὴν γὰρ γραμματικὴν παρὰ τὰς ἄλλας

[1] So Hertlein: ἀπέγραψε or ἐπέγραψε.
[2] πολὺ Hertlein: ἀπό.
[3] υἱεῖς omitted by P, Vogel.

government enjoyed a blessed life of freedom from this evil.

Charondas also wrote a unique law on evil association, which had been overlooked by all other lawgivers. He took it for granted that the characters of good men are in some cases perverted to evil by reason of their friendship and intimacy with bad persons,[1] and that badness, like a pestilent disease, sweeps over the life of mankind and infects the souls of the most upright; for the road to the worse slopes downward and so provides an easier way to take; and this is the reason why many men of fairly good character, ensnared by deceptive pleasures, get stranded upon very bad habits. Wishing, therefore, to remove this source of corruption, the lawgiver forbade the indulgence in friendship and intimacy with unprincipled persons, provided actions at law against evil association, and by means of severe penalties diverted from their course those who were about to err in this manner.

Charondas also wrote another law which is far superior to the one just mentioned and had also been overlooked by lawgivers before his time. He framed the law that all the sons of citizens should learn to read and write, the city providing the salaries of the teachers; for he assumed that men of no means and unable to provide the fees from their own resources would be cut off from the noblest pursuits.

13. In fact the lawgiver rated reading and writing

[1] Cp. Aeschylus, *Seven Against Thebes*, 599-600:
ἐν παντὶ πράγει δ' ἔσθ' ὁμιλίας κακῆς
κακίον οὐδέν, καρπὸς οὐ κομιστέος.
(" In every issue naught is more evil than evil partnership—the fruit thereof must have no garnering." Tr. by Smyth in *L.C.L.*)

μαθήσεις προέκρινεν ὁ νομοθέτης, καὶ μάλα προσηκόντως· διὰ γὰρ ταύτης τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ χρησιμώτατα τῶν πρὸς τὸν βίον ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, ψήφους, ἐπιστολάς, διαθήκας, νόμους, τἄλλα τὰ τὸν βίον
2 μάλιστα ἐπανορθοῦντα. τίς γὰρ ἂν ἄξιον ἐγκώμιον διάθοιτο[1] τῆς τῶν γραμμάτων μαθήσεως; διὰ γὰρ τούτων μόνων οἱ μὲν[2] τετελευτηκότες τοῖς ζῶσι διαμνημονεύονται, οἱ δὲ μακρὰν τοῖς τόποις διεστῶτες τοῖς πλεῖστον ἀπέχουσιν ὡς πλησίον παρεστῶσι διὰ τῶν γεγραμμένων ὁμιλοῦσι· ταῖς τε κατὰ πόλεμον συνθήκαις ἐν ἔθνεσιν ἢ βασιλεῦσι πρὸς διαμονὴν τῶν ὁμολογιῶν ἡ διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων ἀσφάλεια βεβαιοτάτην ἔχει πίστιν· καθόλου δὲ τὰς χαριεστάτας τῶν φρονίμων ἀνδρῶν ἀποφάσεις καὶ θεῶν χρησμούς, ἔτι δὲ φιλοσοφίαν καὶ πᾶσαν παιδείαν μόνη τηρεῖ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις ἀεὶ
3 παραδίδωσιν εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα. διὸ καὶ τοῦ μὲν ζῆν τὴν φύσιν αἰτίαν ὑποληπτέον, τοῦ δὲ καλῶς ζῆν τὴν ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων συγκειμένην παιδείαν. ὅθεν ὡς μεγάλων τινῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀποστερουμένους τοὺς ἀγραμμάτους διωρθώσατο τῇ νομοθεσίᾳ ταύτῃ καὶ δημοσίας ἐπιμελείας τε καὶ δαπάνης ἠξίωσε,
4 καὶ τοσοῦτον ὑπερεβάλετο τοὺς πρότερον νομοθετήσαντας δημοσίῳ μισθῷ τοὺς νοσοῦντας τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ὑπὸ ἰατρῶν θεραπεύεσθαι, ὥσθ' οἱ μὲν τὰ σώματα θεραπείας ἠξίωσαν, ὁ δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς τὰς ὑπ' ἀπαιδευσίας ἐνοχλουμένας ἐθεράπευσε, κἀκεί-

[1] Boissevain adds ἄνευ after διάθοιτο.
[2] μὲν added by Bekker.

above every other kind of learning, and with right good reason; for it is by means of them that most of the affairs of life and such as are most useful are concluded, like votes, letters, covenants, laws, and all other things which make the greatest contribution to orderly life. What man, indeed, could compose a worthy laudation of the knowledge of letters? For it is by such knowledge alone that the dead are carried in the memory of the living and that men widely separated in space hold converse through written communication with those who are at the furthest distance from them, as if they were at their side; and in the case of covenants in time of war between states or kings the firmest guarantee that such agreements will abide is provided by the unmistakable character of writing. Indeed, speaking generally, it is writing alone which preserves the cleverest sayings of men of wisdom and the oracles of the gods, as well as philosophy and all knowledge, and is constantly handing them down to succeeding generations for the ages to come. Consequently, while it is true that nature is the cause of life, the cause of the good life is the education which is based upon reading and writing. And so Charondas, believing as he did that the illiterate were being deprived of certain great advantages, by his legislation corrected this wrong and judged them to be deserving of concern and expense on the part of the state; and he so far excelled former lawgivers who had required that private citizens when ill should enjoy the service of physicians at state expense that, whereas those legislators judged men's bodies to be worthy of healing, he gave healing to the souls which were in distress through want of education,[1] and

[1] One wonders whether Diodorus, as he wrote these words, was recalling the inscription "Healing-place of the Soul," which, he told us, stood on the library of the Egyptian Pharaoh Osymandyas (Book 1. 49. 3).

νων μὲν τῶν ἰατρῶν εὐχόμεθα μηδέποτε χρείαν ἔχειν, τοῖς δὲ τῆς παιδείας διδασκάλοις ἐπιθυμοῦμεν ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον συνδιατρίβειν.

14. Ἀμφότερα δὲ τὰ προειρημένα πολλοὶ τῶν ποιητῶν δι' ἐμμέτρου ποιήματος μεμαρτυρήκασι· τὴν μὲν κακομιλίαν ἐν τοῖσδε,

ὅστις δ' ὁμιλῶν ἥδεται κακοῖς ἀνήρ,
οὐπώποτ' ἠρώτησα, γινώσκων ὅτι
τοιοῦτός ἐστιν οἷσπερ ἥδεται ξυνών·

τὸν δὲ περὶ τῆς μητρυιᾶς τεθέντα νόμον[1] ἐν τούτοις,

τὸν νομοθέτην φασὶν Χαρώνδαν ἔν τινι
νομοθεσίᾳ τά τ' ἄλλα καὶ ταυτὶ[2] λέγειν·
ὁ παισὶν αὑτοῦ μητρυιὰν ἐπεισάγων
μήτ' εὐδοκιμείτω[3] μήτε μετεχέτω λόγου
παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις, ὡς ἐπείσακτον κακὸν
κατὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πραγμάτων πεπορισμένος.
εἶτ' ἐπέτυχες γάρ, φησί, γήμας τὸ πρότερον,
εὐημερῶν κατάπαυσον, εἶτ' οὐκ ἐπέτυχες,
μανικὸν τὸ πεῖραν[4] δευτέρας λαβεῖν πάλιν.

ταῖς γὰρ ἀληθείαις ὁ δὶς ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς πράγμασιν
2 ἁμαρτάνων ἄφρων ἂν δικαίως νομισθείη. καὶ
Φιλήμονος τοῦ κωμῳδιογράφου γράφοντος[5] τοὺς

[1] νόμον added by Kock.
[2] So Bentley: ταῦτα.
[3] So Herwerden: εὐδοκιμείσθω.
[4] So Bentley: πεῖρας.

whereas it is our prayer that we may never have need of those physicians, it is our heart's desire that all our time may be spent in the company of teachers of knowledge.

14. To both the matters we have mentioned above many poets have borne witness in verse; to the law on evil association as follows[1]:

The man who takes delight in converse with
The base, I never ask his kind, aware
He's just like those with whom he likes to be;

to the law he proclaimed on a stepmother as follows[2]:

Charondas, giver of laws, so men relate,
In legal code says many things, but this
Above all else: Let him who on his offspring
A second mother foists be held without
Esteem nor count among his countrymen
For aught, since it's a bane that he hath brought
From alien source upon his own affairs.
For if, he says to him, you fortunate were
When wedded first, forbear when you're well off,
And if your luck was bad, a madman's act
It surely is to try a second wife.

For in truth the man who errs twice in the same matter may justly be considered a fool. And Philemon, the writer of comedy, when introducing men

[1] Euripides, *Phoenix* (frag. 812, Nauck). The passage in fuller form is quoted by Aeschines, *Timarchus*, 152. These lines are also attributed to Menander, who, Kock thinks (Menander, frag. 414), may have quoted them from Euripides.
[2] From an unknown comic poet (frag. Adesp. 110, Kock).

[5] Capps suggests πρὸς after γράφοντος, Meineke τούς.

πολλάκις ναυτιλλομένους καὶ συνειπόντος τῷ νόμῳ[1]

τεθαύμακ' οὐκέτ' εἰ[2] πέπλευκέ τις,
ἀλλ' εἰ πέπλευκε δίς,

τὸ παραπλήσιον ἄν τις ἀποφαίνοιτο μὴ θαυμάζειν εἴ τις γεγάμηκεν, ἀλλ' εἰ δὶς γεγάμηκε· κρεῖττον γὰρ εἶναι δὶς ἑαυτὸν θαλάττῃ παραβαλεῖν ἢ γυ-
3 ναικί. μέγισται γὰρ καὶ χαλεπώταται στάσεις ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις γίνονται διὰ μητρυιὰς τέκνοις πρὸς πατέρας, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πολλαὶ καὶ παράνομοι πράξεις ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις τραγῳδοῦνται.

15. Ὁ δ' οὖν Χαρώνδας καὶ ἕτερόν τινα νόμον ἀποδοχῆς ἀξιούμενον ἔγραψε, τὸν περὶ τῆς τῶν ὀρφανῶν φυλακῆς. οὗτος δ' ἐξ ἐπιπολῆς μὲν θεωρούμενος οὐδὲν φαίνεται περιττὸν ἔχειν οὐδὲ ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιον, ἀναθεωρούμενος δὲ καὶ μετ' ἀκριβείας ἐξεταζόμενος μεγάλην ἔχει σπουδήν τε καὶ
2 δόξαν. ἔγραψε γὰρ τῶν μὲν ὀρφανικῶν χρημάτων ἐπιτροπεύειν τοὺς ἀγχιστεῖς τοὺς ἀπὸ πατρός, τρέφεσθαι δὲ τοὺς ὀρφανοὺς παρὰ τοῖς συγγενέσι τοῖς ἀπὸ μητρός. αὐτόθεν μὲν οὖν ὁ νόμος οὗτος οὐδὲν ὁρᾶται περιέχων σοφὸν ἢ περιττόν, ἐξεταζόμενος δὲ κατὰ βάθους εὑρίσκεται δικαίως ὢν ἄξιος ἐπαίνων. ζητουμένης γὰρ τῆς αἰτίας δι' ἣν ἄλλοις μὲν τὴν οὐσίαν, ἑτέροις δὲ τὴν τῶν ὀρφανῶν τροφὴν ἐπίστευσεν, ἐκφαίνεταί τις ἐπίνοια τοῦ νομοθέτου
3 περιττή· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ μητρὸς συγγενεῖς οὐ προσήκοντες τῇ κληρονομίᾳ τῶν ὀρφανῶν οὐκ ἐπιβουλεύσουσιν, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς οἰκεῖοι ἐπιβου-

[1] So Capps, εἰπόντος Νόθῳ Kock: εἰπόντος νόμῳ.
[2] So Dindorf: οὐκ ἐπεί.

who repeatedly sail the seas, after commending the law, says[1]:

Amazement holds me, no longer if a man
Has gone to sea, but if he's done it twice.

Similarly one may say that one is not amazed if a man has married, but if he has married a second time; for it is better to expose oneself twice to the sea than to a woman. Indeed the greatest and most grievous quarrels in homes between children and fathers are caused by stepmothers, and this fact is the cause of many lawless acts which are portrayed in tragic scenes upon the stage.

15. Charondas also wrote another law which merits approbation—that which deals with the protection of orphans. On the surface this law appears to contain nothing unusual or worthy of approbation, but when it is scrutinized more closely and examined with care, it indicates not only earnest study but also a high claim to regard. For his law provided that the property of orphans should be managed by the next of kin on the father's side, but that the orphans should be reared by their relatives on the mother's side. Now at first glance a man sees nothing wise or outstanding in this law, but when it is explored deeply it is found to be justly worthy of praise. For if the reason is sought out why he entrusted the property of orphans to one group and the rearing of them to another, the lawgiver is seen to have shown an unusual kind of ingenuity. That is, the relatives on the mother's side will not plot to take the lives of the orphans, since they have no share in their inheritance, and the kin on the father's side do not

[1] Frag. 183 (Kock).

λεῦσαι μὲν οὐ δύνανται διὰ τὸ μὴ πιστεύεσθαι τοῦ σώματος, τῆς δ' οὐσίας εἰς ἐκείνους καθηκούσης, ἐὰν οἱ ὀρφανοὶ τελευτήσωσιν ἢ διὰ νόσον ἤ τινα ἄλλην περίστασιν, ἀκριβέστερον οἰκονομήσουσι τὰ χρήματα ὡς ἰδίας τὰς ἐκ τῆς τύχης ἐλπίδας ἔχοντες.

16. Ἕτερον δὲ ἔθηκε νόμον κατὰ τῶν λιπόντων τὴν ἐν πολέμῳ τάξιν ἢ τὸ σύνολον μὴ ἀναλαβόντων τὰ ὅπλα ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος. τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων νομοθετῶν κατὰ τῶν τοιούτων τεθεικότων θάνατον τὸ πρόστιμον, οὗτος προσέταξε τοὺς τοιούτους ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐφ' ἡμέρας τρεῖς καθῆσθαι ἐν ἐσθῆσι
2 γυναικείαις. ὁ δὲ νόμος οὗτος ἅμα μὲν φιλανθρωπότερός ἐστι τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅμα δὲ λεληθότως τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ἀτιμίας ἀποτρέπει τοὺς ὁμοίους τούτοις τῆς ἀνανδρίας· κρεῖττον γάρ ἐστιν ἀποθανεῖν ἢ τοιαύτης ὕβρεως ἐν τῇ πατρίδι πειραθῆναι· ἅμα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἁμαρτάνοντας οὐκ ἠφάνισεν, ἀλλὰ τῇ πόλει πρὸς τὰς πολεμικὰς χρείας ἐτήρησ' ὡς[1] διορθωσομένους τῇ διὰ τῆς ὕβρεως κολάσει καὶ σπεύσοντας[2] ἑτέροις ἀνδραγαθήμασιν ἐξαλεῖψαι τὴν προγεγενημένην αἰσχύνην.

3 Διὰ δὲ τῆς ἀποτομίας τῶν νόμων διέσωσε τοὺς νόμους ὁ νομοθέτης. προσέταξε γὰρ ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου πείθεσθαι τῷ νόμῳ, κἂν ᾖ παντελῶς κακῶς γεγραμμένος· διορθοῦν δὲ συνεχώρησε τὸν χρείαν
4 ἔχοντα διορθώσεως. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἡττᾶσθαι ὑπὸ νομοθέτου καλὸν εἶναι ὑπελάμβανε, τὸ δὲ ὑπὸ ἰδιώτου παντελῶς ἄτοπον, καὶ εἰ ἐπὶ τῷ συμ-

[1] ἐτήρησ' ὡς Capps: ἐτήρησε.
[2] Vogel is the only editor who prefers σπεύδοντας of PAFL.

have the opportunity to plot against their lives, since they are not entrusted with the care of their persons; furthermore, since they inherit the property if the orphans die of disease or some other circumstance, they will administer the estate with greater care, believing that they hold as their own what are hopes based upon an act of Fortune.

16. Charondas also wrote a law against men who had left their post in war or had refused to take up arms at all in defence of their fatherland. Other lawmakers had made death the punishment of such men, but Charondas ordered that they should sit for three days in the market-place dressed in women's clothes. And this law is not only more humane than those of other peoples but it also imperceptibly, by the severity of the disgrace it inflicts, diverts others of like mind from cowardice; for it is better to die than to experience such a gross indignity in one's fatherland. Moreover, he did not do away with the guilty men but preserved them for the state against the needs of wartime, believing that they would make amends, by reason of the punishment caused by that disgrace, and would be eager to wipe out their former shame by bolder deeds of bravery.

The lawgiver also preserved the laws he made by means of their severity. That is, he commanded that under every circumstance obedience should be rendered to the law even if it had been altogether wrongly conceived; but he allowed any law to be corrected, if it needed correction. For he took the position that although it was right enough that a man should be overruled by a lawgiver, to be overruled by one in private station was quite preposterous,

φέροντι γίνεται. καὶ μάλιστα διὰ[1] τοῦ τοιούτου τρόπου τοὺς ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις τῶν παρανενομηκότων προφάσεις καὶ διανοίας ἀντὶ τῶν ῥητῶν εἰσάγοντας ἐκώλυσε ταῖς ἰδίαις εὑρησιλογίαις
5 καταλύειν τὴν τῶν νόμων ὑπεροχήν· διὸ καί τινας τῶν τοιαύτας κατηγορίας πεποιημένων πρὸς τοὺς δικαστὰς τοὺς δικάζοντας περὶ τῆς τῶν παρανενομηκότων τιμωρίας εἰπεῖν[2] ὅτι σώζειν ἀναγκαῖον ἢ τὸν νόμον ἢ τὸν ἄνδρα.

17. Τὸν δ' οὖν Χαρώνδαν φασὶ παραδοξότατον νενομοθετηκέναι περὶ τῆς διορθώσεως τῶν νόμων. ὁρῶντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς πλείσταις πόλεσι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐπιχειρούντων ἐπανορθοῦν τοὺς νόμους λυμαινομένους μὲν τὰς προϋπαρχούσας νομοθεσίας, εἰς στάσεις δὲ τὰ πλήθη προαγομένους, ἴδιόν τι καὶ
2 παντελῶς ἐξηλλαγμένον νομοθετῆσαι.[3] προσέταξε γὰρ τὸν βουλόμενον διορθῶσαί τινα νόμον, ὅταν ποιῆται τὴν περὶ τῆς διορθώσεως συμβουλίαν, τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τράχηλον εἰς βρόχον ἐντιθέναι, καὶ μένειν ἄχρι ἂν ὅτου τὴν κρίσιν ὁ δῆμος περὶ τοῦ διορθουμένου νόμου ποιήσηται, κἂν μὲν ἡ ἐκκλησία προσδέξηται τὸν ὕστερον γραφόμενον, ἀπολύεσθαι τὸν εἰσηγησάμενον, ἐὰν δὲ ἄκυρον ποιήσηται τὴν διόρθωσιν, παραχρῆμα θνήσκειν ὑπὸ τοῦ βρόχου
3 σφιγγόμενον. τοιαύτης δὲ κατὰ τὴν διόρθωσιν τῆς νομοθεσίας οὔσης, καὶ τοῦ φόβου τοὺς νεωτέρους νομοθέτας κολάζοντος, οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμα περὶ νόμων διορθώσεως φωνὴν προΐεσθαι· ἐν παντὶ δὲ τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνῳ παρὰ τοῖς Θουρίοις τρεῖς

[1] διὰ added by Stephanus.
[2] So the MSS.; καί τινος τῶν . . . δικαστὰς σχεδιάζοντος περὶ . . . εἶπεν Madvig.
[3] So Stephanus: ἐνομοθέτησε.

even if that serves the general interest. And it was especially by this means that he prevented men who present in jury-courts the pretences and cunning devices of those who have violated the laws in place of the literal terms of the laws from destroying by inventive sophistries their supremacy. As a consequence, we are told, to certain men who had offered such arguments before the jurors who were passing on the punishment of men who had violated the law, he said, "You must save either the law or the man."

17. But the most amazing legislation of Charondas, we are told, was that which related to the revision of the laws. Observing that in most states the multitude of men who kept endeavouring to revise the laws led continually to the vitiation of the previously existing body of the laws and incited the masses to civil strife, he wrote a law which was peculiar and altogether unique. He commanded, namely, that the man who proposed to revise any law should put his neck in a noose at the time he made his proposal of a revision, and remain in that position until the people had reached a decision on the revision of the law, and if the Assembly approved the revised law, the introducer was to be freed of the noose, but if the proposal of revision did not carry, the noose was to be drawn and the man die on the spot.[1] Such being the legislation relating to revision, fear restrained subsequent lawmakers and not a man dared to utter a word about revising laws; and in all subsequent time history records but three men who

[1] Such a law is also attested for Locris; cp. Bonner-Smith, *Administration of Justice from Homer to Aristotle*, 1, p. 75.

οἱ πάντες ἱστοροῦνται διορθωταὶ διὰ τό[1] τινας ἀναγκαίας περιστάσεις ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς διορθώσεως συμβουλίαν παραγενέσθαι.[2]

4 Νόμου γὰρ ὄντος, ἐάν τίς τινος ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκόψῃ, ἀντεκκόπτεσθαι τὸν ἐκείνου, ἑτερόφθαλμός τις ἐκκοπεὶς τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν καὶ στερηθεὶς ὅλης τῆς ὁράσεως τῷ τὸν ἕνα ἀντεκκεκόφθαι[3] τὸν δράσαντα ἔλαττον ὑπέλαβε πρόστιμον ἐκτῖσαι· τυφλώσαντα γὰρ ἕνα τῶν πολιτῶν, εἰ τὸ κατὰ νόμον πρόστιμον ὁ πράξας ὑπομένοι, μὴ τετευχέναι τῆς ἴσης συμφορᾶς· δίκαιον οὖν εἶναι τὸν ἑτερόφθαλμον τὴν ὅρασιν ἀφελόμενον ἀμφοτέρους ἐκκόπτεσθαι τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, εἰ μέλλει τὴν ἴσην ἀναδέχεσθαι τιμωρίαν.
5 διὸ καὶ περιαλγῆ γενόμενον τὸν ἑτερόφθαλμον ἀποτολμῆσαι λόγον ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ διαθέσθαι περὶ τῆς ἰδίας συμφορᾶς, ἅμα μὲν τοῖς πολίταις ἀποδυρόμενον τὴν ἰδίαν ἀτυχίαν, ἅμα δὲ συμβουλεύοντα τοῖς πλήθεσι διορθώσασθαι τὸν νόμον· τέλος δὲ δόντα τὸν τράχηλον εἰς βρόχον καὶ ἐπιτυχόντα τῇ συμβουλίᾳ, ἀκυρῶσαι μὲν τὸν ὑπάρχοντα νόμον, βεβαιῶσαι δὲ τὸν διορθωθέντα, καὶ διαφυγεῖν τὸν τοῦ βρόχου θάνατον.

18. Δεύτερος δὲ διωρθώθη νόμος ὁ διδοὺς ἐξουσίαν τῇ γυναικὶ ἀπολύειν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ συνοικεῖν ᾧ ἂν βούληται. τῶν γὰρ προβεβηκότων τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τις, ἔχων γυναῖκα νεωτέραν καὶ καταλειφθείς, συνεβούλευε τοῖς Θουρίοις διορθῶσαι τὸν νόμον καὶ προσγράψαι τὴν καταλιποῦσαν ἄνδρα συνοικεῖν ᾧ

[1] ἱστοροῦνται (Wurm) διορθωταὶ (Reiske) τὸ (added by Oldfather): εἰσηγοῦνται διορθωθῆναι διά τινας.
[2] ἐπὶ τὴν . . . παραγενέσθαι deleted by Vogel.

proposed revision among the Thurians, and these appeared because circumstances arose which rendered proposals of revision imperative.

Thus, there was a law that if a man put out the eye of another, he should have his own eye put out, and a man with but one eye, having had that eye put out and thus lost his entire sight, claimed that the offender, by the loss in requital of but one eye, had paid a less penalty; for, he maintained, if a man who had blinded a fellow citizen paid only the penalty fixed by the law, he would not have suffered the same loss; it would be just, therefore, that the man who had destroyed the entire sight of a man with but one eye should have both his eyes put out, if he were to receive a like punishment. Consequently the man with one eye, taking the matter strongly to heart, made bold to raise in the Assembly the case of the loss he had suffered, at the same time both lamenting bitterly over his personal misfortune to his fellow citizens and suggesting to the commons that they revise the law; and in the end, putting his neck in a noose, he won his proposal, set at naught the existing law, and had the revision approved, and he escaped the death by the noose as well.

18. A second law, which gave a wife the right to divorce her husband and marry whomever she chose, was also revised. A certain man, who was well advanced in years and had a wife who was younger than he and had left him, proposed to the Thurians that they revise the law by the added provision that the wife who leaves a husband may marry whomever

[3] τῷ (Reiske) τὸν ἕνα (Cobet) ἀντεκκεκόφθαι (Madvig): τὸ μὲν ἀντεκκόψαι.

ἂν βούληται μὴ νεωτέρῳ τοῦ προτέρου· ὁμοίως δὲ κἂν ἀνὴρ ἐκβάλῃ γυναῖκα, μὴ γαμεῖν ἄλλην
2 νεωτέραν ταύτης τῆς ἐκβληθείσης. εὐστοχήσας δ' ἐν τῇ συμβουλίᾳ καὶ ἀκυρώσας τὸν πρότερον νόμον διέφυγε τὸν ἐκ τοῦ βρόχου κίνδυνον· τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς κωλυθείσης νεωτέρῳ συνοικῆσαι, πάλιν ἔγημε τὸν ἀπολυθέντα.

3 Τρίτος δὲ νόμος διωρθώθη ὁ περὶ τῶν ἐπικλήρων, ὁ καὶ παρὰ Σόλωνι κείμενος. ἐκέλευε γὰρ τῇ ἐπικλήρῳ ἐπιδικάζεσθαι τὸν ἔγγιστα γένους, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπίκληρον ἐπιδικάζεσθαι τῷ ἀγχιστεῖ, ᾧ ἦν ἀνάγκη συνοικεῖν ἢ πεντακοσίας ἐκτῖσαι δραχμὰς εἰς προικὸς λόγον τῇ πενιχρᾷ
4 ἐπικλήρῳ. ὀρφανὴ γάρ τις εὐγενὴς ἐπίκληρος, ἀπορουμένη παντελῶς τῶν[1] κατὰ τὸν βίον καὶ διὰ τὴν πενίαν οὐ δυναμένη συνοικῆσαι, κατέφυγεν ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον, καὶ μετὰ δακρύων ἐκθεμένη τὴν ἑαυτῆς ἐρημίαν τε καὶ καταφρόνησιν, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὑπογραψαμένη τὴν διόρθωσιν τοῦ νόμου, ὥστε ἀντὶ τῆς ἐκτίσεως τῶν πεντακοσίων δραχμῶν γράψαι συνοικεῖν κατ' ἀνάγκην τὸν ἄγχιστα γένους τῇ ἐπιδικασθείσῃ ἐπικλήρῳ· τοῦ δὲ δήμου διὰ τὸν ἔλεον ψηφισαμένου διορθῶσαι τὸν νόμον, ἡ μὲν ὀρφανὴ τὸν ἐκ τοῦ βρόχου κίνδυνον ἐξέφυγεν, ὁ δ' ἀγχιστεὺς πλούσιος ὢν ἠναγκάσθη γῆμαι γυναῖκα πενιχρὰν ἐπίκληρον ἄνευ προικός.

19. Λείπεται δ' ἡμῖν εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ Χαρώνδου τελευτῆς, καθ' ἣν ἴδιόν τι καὶ παράδοξον αὐτῷ συνέβη. ἐπὶ γὰρ τὴν χώραν ἐξιὼν μετὰ ξιφιδίου

[1] τῶν added by Dindorf.

[1] See Plutarch, *Solon*, 20.

she chooses, provided the man is not younger than her former husband; and that likewise, if a man sends his wife away he may not marry a woman younger than the wife whom he had sent away. The elderly man won his proposal and set at naught the former law, also escaping the peril of the noose which threatened him; and his wife, who had thus been prevented from living with a younger husband, married again the man she had left.

A third law to be revised had to do with heiresses and is also found in the legislation of Solon.[1] Charondas ordered that the next of kin be assigned in marriage to an heiress and that likewise an heiress be assigned in marriage to her nearest relative, who was required to marry her or, if she were poor, to contribute five hundred drachmas as a dowry of the penniless heiress. And a certain orphan who was an heiress, of good birth but altogether without means of support and so unable by reason of her poverty to find a husband, turned to the people for aid, explaining to them with tears how helpless and scorned she was; and she went on to outline the revision of the law whereby, in place of the payment of five hundred drachmas, it should specify that the next of kin be required to marry the heiress who had been assigned to him. The people took pity on her and voted for the revision of the law, and thus the orphan escaped the peril which threatened her from the noose, while the nearest of kin, who was wealthy, was compelled to take to wife a penniless heiress without a dowry.

19. It remains for us to speak of the death of Charondas, in connection with which a peculiar and unexpected thing happened to him. He had set out

διὰ τοὺς λῃστάς, καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐπάνοδον ἐκκλησίας συνεστώσης καὶ ταραχῆς ἐν τοῖς πλήθεσι, προσέστη
2 πολυπραγμονῶν τὰ κατὰ τὴν στάσιν. νενομοθετηκὼς δ' ἦν μηδένα μεθ' ὅπλου ἐκκλησιάζειν, καὶ ἐπιλαθόμενος ὅτι τὸ ξίφος παρέζωσται, παρέδωκεν ἐχθροῖς τισιν ἀφορμὴν κατηγορίας. ὧν ἑνὸς εἰπόντος Καταλέλυκας τὸν ἴδιον νόμον, Μὰ Δί', εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ κύριον ποιήσω· καὶ σπασάμενος τὸ ξιφίδιον ἑαυτὸν ἀπέσφαξεν. ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν συγγραφέων τὴν πρᾶξιν ταύτην περιτιθέασι Διοκλεῖ τῷ Συρακοσίων νομοθέτῃ.

3 Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀρκούντως τὰ περὶ Χαρώνδαν τὸν νομοθέτην διεληλυθότες βραχέα βουλόμεθα καὶ περὶ Ζαλεύκου τοῦ νομοθέτου διελθεῖν διά τε τὴν ὁμοίαν προαίρεσιν τοῦ βίου καὶ τὸ γεγονέναι τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐν πόλεσιν ἀστυγείτοσιν.

20. Ζάλευκος τοίνυν ἦν τὸ γένος ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας Λοκρός, ἀνὴρ εὐγενὴς καὶ κατὰ παιδείαν τεθαυμασμένος, μαθητὴς δὲ Πυθαγόρου τοῦ φιλοσόφου. οὗτος πολλῆς ἀποδοχῆς τυγχάνων ἐν τῇ πατρίδι νομοθέτης ἡρέθη, καὶ καταβαλόμενος ἐξ ἀρχῆς καινὴν νομοθεσίαν ἤρξατο πρῶτον περὶ τῶν ἐπ-
2 ουρανίων θεῶν. εὐθὺς γὰρ ἐν τῷ προοιμίῳ τῆς ὅλης νομοθεσίας ἔφη δεῖν τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐν τῇ πόλει πάντων πρῶτον ὑπολαβεῖν καὶ πεπεῖσθαι θεοὺς εἶναι, καὶ ταῖς διανοίαις ἐπισκοποῦντας[1] τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν διακόσμησιν καὶ τάξιν κρίνειν οὐ τύχης οὐδ' ἀνθρώπων εἶναι ταῦτα[2] κατασκευάσματα,

[1] So Stephanus: ἐπισκοπεῖν. [2] So Dindorf: ταῦτα τά.

[1] See Book 13. 33.

to the country carrying a dagger because of the robbers, and on his return the Assembly was in session and the commons in an uproar, whereupon he approached it because he was curious about the matter in dispute. But he had made a law that no man should enter the Assembly carrying a weapon, and since he had forgotten he was carrying the dagger at his side, he provided certain of his enemies with an occasion to bring an accusation against him. And when one of them said, "You have annulled your own law," he replied, "Not so, by Zeus, I will uphold it," and drawing the dagger he slew himself. Some historians, however, attribute this act to Diocles, the lawgiver of the Syracusans.[1]

But now that we have discoursed at sufficient length upon Charondas the lawmaker, we wish to speak briefly also of the lawmaker Zaleucus, since the two men not only followed similar principles of life but were also natives of neighbouring cities.

20. Now Zaleucus was by birth a Locrian of Italy,[2] a man of noble family, admired for his education, and a pupil of the philosopher Pythagoras. Having been accorded high favour in his native city, he was chosen lawmaker and committed to writing a thoroughly novel system of law, making his beginning, first of all, with the gods of the heavens. For at the outset in the introduction to his legislation as a whole he declared it to be necessary that the inhabitants of the city should first of all assume as an article of their creed that gods exist, and that, as their minds survey the heavens and its orderly scheme and arrangement, they should judge that these creations are not the result of Chance or the work of men's hands; that they should

[2] As distinguished from the two Locri in Greece.

σέβεσθαί τε τοὺς θεούς, ὡς πάντων τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους ὄντας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἔχειν δὲ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καθαρὰν πάσης κακίας, ὡς τῶν θεῶν οὐ χαιρόντων ταῖς τῶν πονηρῶν θυσίαις τε καὶ δαπάναις, ἀλλὰ ταῖς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν
3 δικαίαις τε καὶ καλαῖς ἐπιτηδεύσεσι. διὰ δὲ τοῦ προοιμίου προκαλεσάμενος τοὺς πολίτας εἰς εὐσέβειαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην, ἐπέζευξε προστάττων μηδένα τῶν πολιτῶν ἐχθρὸν ἀκατάλλακτον ἔχειν, ἀλλ' οὕτω τὴν ἔχθραν ἀναλαμβάνειν ὡς ἥξοντα πάλιν εἰς σύλλυσιν καὶ φιλίαν· τὸν δὲ παρὰ ταῦτα ποιοῦντα διαλαμβάνεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις ἀνήμερον καὶ ἄγριον τὴν ψυχήν. τοὺς δὲ ἄρχοντας παρεκελεύετο μὴ εἶναι αὐθάδεις μηδὲ ὑπερηφάνους, μηδὲ κρίνειν πρὸς ἔχθραν ἢ φιλίαν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατὰ μέρος νομοθετήμασι[1] πολλὰ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ προσεξεῦρε μάλα σοφῶς καὶ περιττῶς.

21. Τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων ἁπάντων ἁμαρτανουσῶν γυναικῶν ἀργυρικὰς ζημίας τεταχότων οὗτος φιλοτέχνῳ προστίμῳ τὰς ἀκολασίας αὐτῶν διωρθώσατο. ἔγραψε γὰρ οὕτω· γυναικὶ ἐλευθέρᾳ μὴ πλείω ἀκολουθεῖν μιᾶς θεραπαινίδος ἐὰν μὴ μεθύῃ, μηδὲ ἐξιέναι νυκτὸς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εἰ μὴ μοιχευομένην, μηδὲ περιτίθεσθαι χρυσία μηδὲ ἐσθῆτα παρυφασμένην ἐὰν μὴ ἑταίρα ᾖ, μηδὲ τὸν ἄνδρα φορεῖν δακτύλιον ὑπόχρυσον μηδὲ ἱμάτιον ἰσομιλή-
2 σιον, ἐὰν μὴ ἑταιρεύηται ἢ μοιχεύηται. διὸ καὶ ῥᾳδίως ταῖς τῶν προστίμων αἰσχραῖς ὑπεξαιρέσεσιν

[1] So Stephanus: νομοθετήσας.

revere the gods as the cause of all that is noble and good in the life of mankind; and that they should keep the soul pure from every kind of evil, in the belief that the gods take no pleasure in either the sacrifices or costly gifts of the wicked but in the just and honourable practices of good men. And after inviting the citizens in this introduction to reverence and justice, he appended the further command that they should consider no one of their fellow citizens as an enemy with whom there can be no reconciliation, but that the quarrel be entered into with the thought that they will again come to agreement and friendship; and that the one who acts otherwise should be considered by his fellow citizens to be savage and untamed of soul. Also the magistrates were urged by him not to be wilful or arrogant, and not to render judgement out of enmity or friendship. And among his several ordinances a number were added of his own devising, which showed exceptionally great wisdom.

21. To cite examples, whereas everywhere else wayward wives were required to pay fines, Zaleucus stopped their licentious behaviour by a cunningly devised punishment. That is, he made the following laws: a free-born woman may not be accompanied by more than one female slave, unless she is drunk; she may not leave the city during the night, unless she is planning to commit adultery; she may not wear gold jewelry or a garment with a purple border, unless she is a courtesan; and a husband may not wear a gold-studded ring or a cloak of Milesian[1] fashion unless he is bent upon prostitution or adultery. Consequently, by the elimination, with its shameful

[1] Miletus was noted for the luxurious life of its inhabitants.

ἀπέτρεψε τῆς βλαβερᾶς τρυφῆς καὶ ἀκολασίας τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐβούλετο τὴν αἰσχρὰν ἀκολασίαν ὁμολογήσας καταγέλαστος ἐν τοῖς πολί-
3 ταις εἶναι. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τῶν συμβολαίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀμφισβητουμένων καλῶς ἐνομοθέτησε, περὶ ὧν ἡμῖν μακρὸν ἂν εἴη γράφειν καὶ τῆς ὑποκειμένης ἱστορίας ἀνοίκειον· διόπερ ἐπὶ τὰ συνεχῆ τοῖς προειρημένοις ἀναβιβάσομεν τὸν λόγον.

22. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος γὰρ Ἀθήνησι Λυσιμαχίδου Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ὑπάτους κατέστησαν Τίτον Μενήνιον καὶ Πόπλιον Σήστιον Καπετωλῖνον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων διαφεύγοντες τὸν ἐν τῇ στάσει κίνδυνον Συβαρῖται περὶ τὸν Τράεντα ποταμὸν κατῴκησαν. καὶ χρόνον μέν τινα διέμειναν, ἔπειθ' ὑπὸ Βρεττίων ἐκβληθέν-
2 τες ἀνῃρέθησαν. κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν Εὔβοιαν ἀνακτησάμενοι καὶ τοὺς Ἑστιαιεῖς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκβαλόντες ἰδίαν ἀποικίαν εἰς αὐτὴν ἐξέπεμψαν Περικλέους στρατηγοῦντος, χιλίους δὲ οἰκήτορας ἐκπέμψαντες τήν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν κατεκληρούχησαν.

23. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Πραξιτέλους Ὀλυμπιὰς μὲν ἤχθη τετάρτη πρὸς ταῖς ὀγδοήκοντα, καθ' ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Κρίσων Ἱμεραῖος, ἐν δὲ τῇ Ῥώμῃ δέκα ἄνδρες κατεστάθησαν νομογράφοι, Πόπλιος Κλώδιος Ῥηγιλλανός, Τίτος Μινύκιος, Σπόριος Οὐετούριος, Γάιος Ἰούλιος, Γάιος Σουλπίκιος, Πόπλιος Σήστιος, Ῥωμύλος, Σπόριος

[1] The preceding legislation of Zaleucus has been cited as

implications,[1] of the penalties he easily turned men aside from harmful luxury and wanton living; for no man wished to incur the sneers of his fellow citizens by acknowledging the disgraceful licentiousness. He wrote many other excellent laws, such as those on contracts and other relations of life which are the cause of strife. But it would be a long task for us to recount them and foreign to the plan of our history, and so we shall resume our account at the point where we digressed from the course of our narrative.

22. When Lysimachides was archon in Athens, the 445 B.C.
Romans elected as consuls Titus Menenius and Publius Sestius Capitolinus. In this year the Sybarites who were fleeing from the danger threatening them in the civil strife made their home on the Traïs River. Here they remained for a time, but later they were driven out by the Brettii and destroyed. And in Greece the Athenians, regaining control of Euboea and driving the Hestiaeans from their city, dispatched, under Pericles as commander, a colony of their own citizens to it and sending forth a thousand colonists they portioned out both the city and countryside in allotments.

23. When Praxiteles was archon in Athens, the 444 B.C.
Eighty-fourth Olympiad was celebrated, that in which Crison of Himera won the "stadion," and in Rome the following ten men[2] were elected to draft laws: Publius Clodius Regillanus, Titus Minucius, Spurius Veturius, Gaius Julius, Gaius Sulpicius, Publius Sestius, Romulus (Romilius), Spurius Pos-

an example of "imperfect" laws, that is, those which lack any penal sanction other than the offender's sense of shame or the infamy attaching to him (cp. S. Pufendorf, *De jure naturae et gentium*, 1. 6. 14).

[2] The famous Decemvirate.

Ποστούμιος Καλβίνιος. οὗτοι τοὺς νόμους συνετέ-
2 λεσαν. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Θούριοι μὲν διαπολεμοῦντες
πρὸς Ταραντίνους τὰς ἀλλήλων χώρας ἐπόρθουν
καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, καὶ πολλὰς μὲν
μικρὰς μάχας καὶ ἀκροβολισμοὺς ἐποιήσαντο, ἀξιό-
λογον δὲ πρᾶξιν οὐδεμίαν συνετέλεσαν.

24. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Λυσανίου Ῥω-
μαῖοι πάλιν δέκα ἄνδρας νομοθέτας εἵλοντο, Ἄπ-
πιον Κλώδιον, Μάρκον Κορνήλιον, Λεύκιον Μινύ-
κιον, Γάιον Σέργιον, Κόιντον Πόπλιον,[1] Μάνιον
2 Ῥαβολήιον, Σπόριον Οὐετούριον. οὗτοι δὲ τοὺς
νόμους οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν συντελέσαι. εἷς δ' ἐξ αὐ-
τῶν ἐρασθεὶς εὐγενοῦς παρθένου πενιχρᾶς, τὸ μὲν
πρῶτον χρήμασι διαφθεῖραι τὴν κόρην ἐπεβάλετο,
ὡς δ' οὐ προσεῖχεν αὐτῷ, ἐπαπέστειλε συκοφάντην
3 ἐπ' αὐτήν, προστάξας ἄγειν εἰς δουλείαν. τοῦ δὲ
συκοφάντου φήσαντος ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ εἶναι δούλην καὶ
πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα καταστήσαντος δουλαγωγου-
μένην,[2] προσαγαγὼν κατηγόρησεν ὡς δούλης. τοῦ
δὲ διακούσαντος τῆς κατηγορίας καὶ τὴν κόρην
ἐγχειρίσαντος, ἐπιλαβόμενος ὁ συκοφάντης ἀπῆγεν
ὡς ἰδίαν δούλην.

4 Ὁ δὲ πατὴρ τῆς παρθένου παρὼν καὶ δεινοπα-

[1] Poetilius in Livy, 3. 35, 41 and Dionysius, 11. 23.
[2] So Wurm, Bezzel: δουλαγωγεῖν, deleted by Vogel.

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[1] The sources do not agree on the names. Here Publius Clodius should be Appius Claudius; and Diodorus also omits the names of A. Manlius Vulso and P. Curiatius.

[2] The Laws of the Twelve Tables, the first Roman laws to be put in writing. The common Roman tradition was that two of the laws were passed under the second Decemvirate; but Diodorus (chap. 26. 1) states that they were added

tumius Calvinius.[1] These men drew up the laws.[2] This year the Thurians and the Tarantini kept up continuous warfare and ravaged each other's territory both by land and by sea. They engaged in many light battles and skirmishes, but accomplished no deed worthy of mention.

24. When Lysanias was archon in Athens, the 443 B.C.
Romans again chose ten men as lawmakers: Appius Clodius, Marcus Cornelius, Lucius Minucius, Gaius Sergius, Quintus Publius, Manius Rabuleius, and Spurius Veturius.[3] These men, however, were not able to complete the codification of the laws. One[4] of them had conceived a passion for a maiden who was penniless but of good family, and at first he tried to seduce the girl[5] by means of money; and when she would have nothing to do with him, he sent an agent to her home with orders to lead her into slavery. The agent, claiming that she was his own slave, brought her, serving in that capacity, before the magistrate, in whose court Appius charged her with being his slave. And when the magistrates had listened to the charge and handed the girl over to him, the agent led her off as his own slave.

The maiden's father, who had been present at the scene and had complained bitterly of the injustice

under the consuls Horatius and Valerius, and this seems more likely (see Beloch, *Römische Geschichte*, p. 245). The correct dates of the Decemvirates are 451 and 450 B.C., and of the consuls Horatius and Valerius, 449.

[3] These are only seven names, and the last, Spurius Veturius, is not found in other lists; Clodius should be Claudius.

[4] Appius Claudius (Livy, 3. 44).

[5] Verginia. The following story ranks among the most famous of Roman tradition. The classic account is in Livy, 3. 44 ff.

θῶν, ὡς οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ προσεῖχε, παραπορευόμενος κατὰ τύχην παρὰ κρεοπώλιον, ἁρπάσας τὴν παρακειμένην ἐπὶ τῆς σανίδος κοπίδα, ταύτῃ πατάξας τὴν θυγατέρα ἀπέκτεινεν, ἵνα μὴ τῆς ὕβρεως λάβῃ πεῖραν, αὐτὸς δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκπηδήσας ἀπῆλθε πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ ἐν τῷ Ἀλγίδῳ καλουμένῳ
5 τότε ὑπάρχον. καταφυγὼν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ μετὰ δακρύων τὴν καθ' αὐτὸν[1] συμφορὰν ἀπαγγείλας, ἅπαντας ἤγαγεν εἰς ἔλεον καὶ πολλὴν συμπάθειαν. πάντων δ' ἐπιβοηθεῖν τοῖς ἠτυχηκόσιν ὁρμησάντων, μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων νυκτὸς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην εἰσέπεσον. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν κατελάβοντο λόφον τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον Ἀουεντῖνον.

25. Ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ γνωσθείσης τῆς τῶν στρατιωτῶν μισοπονηρίας οἱ μὲν δέκα νομογράφοι βοηθοῦντες τῷ συνάρχοντι συνῆγον πολλοὺς τῶν νέων, ὡς διὰ τῶν ὅπλων κριθησόμενοι· μεγάλης δ' ἐμπεσούσης φιλοτιμίας οἱ χαριέστατοι τῶν πολιτῶν, προορώμενοι τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ κινδύνου, διεπρεσβεύσαντο πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους περὶ συλλύσεως, καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς ἐδέοντο λῆξαι τῆς στάσεως καὶ μὴ περιβαλεῖν τὴν πατρίδα μεγάλαις συμφοραῖς.
2 τέλος δὲ πεισθέντων ἁπάντων ὁμολογίας ἔθεντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὥστε δέκα αἱρεῖσθαι δημάρχους μεγίστας ἔχοντας ἐξουσίας τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀρχόντων, καὶ τούτους ὑπάρχειν οἱονεὶ φύλακας τῆς τῶν πολιτῶν ἐλευθερίας· τῶν δὲ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν

[1] So Eichstädt: *κατ' αὐτόν*.

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[1] This is probably a defective translation of *decemviri collegae auxilium ferentes* (see Klimke, *Diodor und die röm. Annalistik*, p. 7).

[2] Diodorus had forgotten that he had already acknow-

he had suffered, since no attention had been paid to him, passed, as it happened, a butcher's shop, and snatching up the cleaver lying on the block, he struck his daughter with it and killed her, to prevent her experiencing the violation which awaited her; then he rushed out of the city and made his way to the army which was encamped at the time on Mount Algidus, as it is called. There he laid his case before the common soldiers, denounced with tears the misfortune that had befallen him, and won their complete pity and great sympathy. The entire body sallied forth to bring help to the unfortunates and burst into Rome during the night fully armed. There they seized the hill known as the Aventine.

25. When with the day the hatred of the soldiers toward the evil which had been done became known, the ten lawmakers, rallying to the aid of their fellow magistrate,[1] collected a body of young men, with the intention of settling the issue by a test of arms. Since a great spirit of contention now threatened the state, the most respectable citizens, foreseeing the greatness of the danger, acted as ambassadors between both parties to reach an agreement and begged them with great earnestness to cease from the civil discord and not plunge their fatherland into such serious distress. In the end all were won over and a mutual agreement was reached as follows: that ten tribunes should be elected who should wield the highest authority among the magistrates of the state and should act as guardians of the freedom of the citizens[2]; and that of the annual consuls one

ledged the existence of tribunes under the year 466 (Book. 11. 68. 8). It may be, however, that in this year the patricians first recognized in law the tribunate or some of its powers.

γινομένων ὑπάτων τὸν μὲν ἕνα ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων αἱρεῖσθαι, καὶ τὸν ἕνα πάντως ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους καθίστασθαι, ἐξουσίας οὔσης τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους αἱρεῖσθαι.
3 τοῦτο δ' ἔπραξαν ταπεινῶσαι σπεύδοντες τὴν τῶν πατρικίων ὑπεροχήν· οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες οὗτοι διά τε τὴν εὐγένειαν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἐκ τῶν προγόνων αὐτοῖς παρακολουθούσης δόξης ὡσεί τινες κύριοι τῆς πόλεως ὑπῆρχον. ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὁμολογίαις προσέκειτο τοῖς ἄρξασι δημάρχοις τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, ἀντικαθιστάναι πάλιν δημάρχους τοὺς ἴσους ἢ τοῦτο μὴ πράξαντας ζῶντας κατακαυθῆναι· ἐὰν δὲ οἱ δήμαρχοι μὴ συμφωνῶσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, κύριοι εἶναι τὸν ἀνὰ μέσον κείμενον μὴ κωλύεσθαι.[1] τὴν μὲν οὖν ἐν Ῥώμῃ στάσιν τοιαύτης συλλύσεως τυχεῖν συνέβη.

26. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Διφίλου Ῥωμαῖοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Μάρκον[2] Ὁράτιον καὶ Λεύκιον Οὐαλέριον Τούρπινον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων, ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τῆς νομοθεσίας διὰ τὴν στάσιν ἀσυντελέστου γενομένης, οἱ ὕπατοι συνετέλεσαν αὐτήν· τῶν γὰρ καλουμένων δώδεκα πινάκων οἱ μὲν δέκα συνετελέσθησαν, τοὺς δ' ὑπολειπομένους δύο ἀνέγραψαν οἱ ὕπατοι. καὶ τελεσθείσης τῆς ὑποκειμένης νομοθεσίας, ταύτην εἰς δώδεκα χαλκοῦς πίνακας χαράξαντες οἱ ὕπατοι προσήλωσαν τοῖς

[1] κύριοι . . . κωλύεσθαι is clearly defective; κύριον εἶναι τὸ suggested by Madvig, κωλυέσθων by Vogel.
[2] Μάρκον (Livy, 3. 55): Κάγκον.

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[1] Diodorus is the only authority for this law, which prob-

should be chosen from the patricians and one, without exception, should be taken from the plebeians, the people having the power to choose even both consuls from the plebeians. This they did in their desire to weaken the supremacy of the patricians; for the patricians, by reason both of their noble birth and of the great fame that came down to them from their ancestors, were lords, one might say, of the state. It was furthermore stipulated in the agreement that when tribunes had served their year of office they should see that an equal number of tribunes were appointed in their place, and that if they failed to do this they should be burned alive[1]; also, in case the tribunes could not agree among themselves, the will of the interceding tribune must not be prevented.[2] Such then, we find, was the conclusion of the civil discord in Rome.

26. When Diphilus was archon in Athens, the Romans elected as consuls Marcus Horatius and Lucius Valerius Turpinus. In Rome during this year, since the legislation remained unfinished because of the civil discord, the consuls brought it to conclusion; that is, of the Twelve Tables, as they are called, ten had been drawn up, and the consuls wrote into law the two remaining. After the legislation they had undertaken had been concluded, the consuls engraved the laws on twelve bronze tablets and affixed them 442 B.C.

ably derives from the story of the burning to death of nine tribunes (Valerius Maximus, 6. 3. 2; Dio Cassius, frag. 22).

[2] Some such a provision as this may be hidden in τὸν ἀνὰ μέσον κείμενον. See Eduard Meyer, "Untersuchungen über Diodors römische Geschichte," *Rhein. Museum*, 37 (1882), 610-627, especially pp. 618 ff., where he discusses the defective tradition which Diodorus has followed in the legislation described above.

πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου τότε κειμένοις ἐμβόλοις. ἡ δὲ γραφεῖσα νομοθεσία, βραχέως καὶ ἀπερίττως συγκειμένη, διέμεινε θαυμαζομένη μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς καιρῶν.

2 Τούτων δὲ πραττομένων τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐθνῶν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ ὑπῆρχε, πάντων σχεδὸν εἰρήνην ἀγόντων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Πέρσαι διττὰς συνθήκας εἶχον πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, τὰς μὲν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους αὐτῶν, ἐν αἷς ἦσαν αἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἑλληνίδες πόλεις αὐτόνομοι, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ὕστερον ἐγράφησαν, ἐν αἷς τοὐναντίον ἦν γεγραμμένον ὑπηκόους εἶναι τοῖς Πέρσαις τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπῆρχεν εἰρήνη, συντεθειμένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ
3 τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων σπονδὰς τριακονταετεῖς. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν εἰρηνικὴν εἶχε κατάστασιν, Καρχηδονίων μὲν πεποιημένων συνθήκας πρὸς Γέλωνα, αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν πόλεων Ἑλληνίδων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Συρακοσίοις συγκεχωρηκυιῶν, καὶ τῶν Ἀκραγαντίνων μετὰ τὴν ἧτταν τὴν γενομένην περὶ τὸν Ἱμέραν ποταμὸν
4 συλλελυμένων πρὸς τοὺς Συρακοσίους. ἡσύχαζε δὲ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἔθνη καὶ Κελτικήν, ἔτι δ' Ἰβηρίαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην σχεδὸν ἅπασαν οἰκουμένην. διόπερ πολεμικὴ μὲν καὶ ἀξία μνήμης πρᾶξις οὐδεμία συνετελέσθη κατὰ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους, εἰρήνη δὲ μία συνετελέσθη, καὶ πανηγύρεις καὶ ἀγῶνες καὶ θεῶν θυσίαι καὶ τἆλλα τὰ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν ἀνήκοντα παρὰ πᾶσιν ἐπεπόλαζεν.

27. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Τιμοκλέους Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Λαρῖνον Ἑρμίνιον

to the Rostra before the Senate-house. And the legislation as it was drawn up, since it is couched in such brief and pithy language, has continued to be admired by men down to our own day.

While the events we have described were taking place, the greater number of the nations of the inhabited world were quiet, practically all of them being at peace. For the Persians had two treaties with the Greeks, one with the Athenians and their allies according to which the Greek cities of Asia were to live under laws of their own making,[1] and they also concluded one later with the Lacedaemonians, in which exactly the opposite terms had been incorporated, whereby the Greek cities of Asia were to be subject to the Persians. Likewise, the Greeks were at peace with one another, the Athenians and Lacedaemonians having concluded a truce of thirty years. Affairs likewise in Sicily also were in a peaceful state, since the Carthaginians had made a treaty with Gelon, the Greek cities of Sicily had voluntarily conceded the hegemony to the Syracusans, and the Acragantini, after their defeat at the river Himera, had come to terms with the Syracusans. There was quiet also among the peoples of Italy and Celticê, as well as over Iberia and almost all the rest of the inhabited world. Consequently no deed of arms worthy of mention was accomplished in this period, a single peace prevailed, and festive gatherings, games, sacrificial festivals of the gods, and everything else which accompanies a life of felicity prevailed among all mankind.

27. When Timocles was archon in Athens, the 441 B.C.
Romans elected as consuls Lar Herminius and Titus

[1] This is the treaty given in chap. 4. 5.

καὶ Τίτον Στερτίνιον Στρούκτορα. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων
Σάμιοι μὲν πρὸς Μιλησίους περὶ Πριήνης[1] ἀμφισ-
βητήσαντες εἰς πόλεμον κατέστησαν, ὁρῶντες δὲ
τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ταῖς εὐνοίαις διαφέροντας[2] πρὸς
Μιλησίους, ἀπέστησαν ἀπ' αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ Περικλέα
προχειρισάμενοι στρατηγὸν ἐξέπεμψαν ἐπὶ τοὺς
2 Σαμίους ἔχοντα τριήρεις τετταράκοντα. οὗτος δὲ
πλεύσας ἐπὶ[3] τὴν Σάμον, παρεισελθὼν δὲ καὶ τῆς
πόλεως ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος κατέστησε δημοκρα-
τίαν ἐν αὐτῇ. πραξάμενος δὲ παρὰ τῶν Σαμίων
ὀγδοήκοντα τάλαντα, καὶ τοὺς ἴσους ὁμήρους παῖ-
δας λαβών, τούτους μὲν παρέδωκε τοῖς Λημνίοις,
αὐτὸς δ' ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ἅπαντα συντετελεκὼς
ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας.
3 Ἐν δὲ τῇ Σάμῳ στάσεως γενομένης, καὶ τῶν μὲν
αἱρουμένων τὴν δημοκρατίαν, τῶν δὲ βουλομένων
τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν εἶναι, ταραχὴ πολλὴ τὴν πόλιν
ἐπεῖχε. τῶν δ' ἐναντιουμένων τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ
διαβάντων εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ πορευθέντων εἰς
Σάρδεις πρὸς Πισσούθνην τὸν τῶν Περσῶν σατρά-
πην περὶ βοηθείας, ὁ μὲν Πισσούθνης ἔδωκεν αὐ-
τοῖς στρατιώτας ἑπτακοσίους, ἐλπίζων τῆς Σάμου
διὰ τούτου κυριεύσειν, οἱ δὲ Σάμιοι μετὰ τῶν δο-
θέντων αὐτοῖς στρατιωτῶν νυκτὸς πλεύσαντες εἰς
τὴν Σάμον ἔλαθόν τε τὴν πόλιν παρεισελθόντες,
τῶν πολιτῶν συνεργούντων, ῥᾳδίως τ' ἐκράτησαν
τῆς Σάμου, καὶ τοὺς ἀντιπράττοντας αὐτοῖς ἐξ-
έβαλον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως· τοὺς δ' ὁμήρους ἐκκλέψαντες
ἐκ τῆς Λήμνου καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Σάμον ἀσφαλισά-
μενοι, φανερῶς ἑαυτοὺς ἀπέδειξαν πολεμίους τοῖς
4 Ἀθηναίοις. οἱ δὲ πάλιν Περικλέα προχειρισάμενοι

[1] So Canter (cp. Thuc. 1. 115): εἰρήνης.

Stertinius Structor. In this year the Samians went to war with the Milesians because of a quarrel over Priênê, and when they saw that the Athenians were favouring the Milesians, they revolted from the Athenians, who thereupon chose Pericles as general and dispatched him with forty ships against the Samians. And sailing forth against Samos, Pericles got into the city and mastered it, and then established a democracy in it. He exacted of the Samians eighty talents and took an equal number[1] of their young men as hostages, whom he put in the keeping of the Lemnians; then, after having finished everything in a few days, he returned to Athens.

But civil discord arose in Samos, one party preferring the democracy and the other wanting an aristocracy, and the city was in utter tumult. The opponents of the democracy crossed over to Asia, and went on to Sardis to get aid from Pissuthnes, the Persian satrap. Pissuthnes gave them seven hundred soldiers, hoping that in this way he would get the mastery of the island, and the Samians, sailing to Samos by night with the soldiers which had been given them, slipped unnoticed into the city with the aid of the citizens, seized the island without difficulty, and expelled from the city those who opposed them. Then, after they had stolen and carried off the hostages from Lemnos and had made everything secure in Samos, they publicly declared themselves to be enemies of the Athenians. The Atheni-

[1] Thucydides (1. 115) says fifty.

[2] Kallenberg suggests διαφερόντως ἀποκλίναντας.
[3] τε after ἐπὶ deleted by Dindorf.

στρατηγὸν ἐξέπεμψαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Σαμίους μετὰ νεῶν ἑξήκοντα. μετὰ δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ μὲν Περικλῆς ναυμαχήσας πρὸς ἑβδομήκοντα τριήρεις ἐνίκησε τοὺς Σαμίους, μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ παρὰ Χίων καὶ Μυτιληναίων ναῦς εἴκοσι πέντε μετὰ τούτων ἐπολιόρκησε τὴν Σάμον. μετὰ δέ τινας ἡμέρας Περικλῆς μὲν καταλιπὼν μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τῆς πολιορκίας ἀνέζευξεν, ἀπαντήσων ταῖς Φοινίσσαις ναυσίν, ἃς οἱ Πέρσαι τοῖς Σαμίοις ἦσαν ἀπεσταλκότες.

28. Οἱ δὲ Σάμιοι διὰ τὴν ἀνάζευξιν τοῦ Περικλέους νομίζοντες ἔχειν καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον εἰς ἐπίθεσιν ταῖς ἀπολελειμμέναις ναυσίν, ἐπέπλευσαν ἐπ'[1] αὐτάς, καὶ νικήσαντες τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ φρονήματος
2 ἐπληροῦντο. ὁ δὲ Περικλῆς ἀκούσας τὴν τῶν ἰδίων ἧτταν, εὐθὺς ὑπέστρεψε καὶ στόλον ἀξιόλογον ἤθροισε, βουλόμενος εἰς τέλος συντρῖψαι τὸν τῶν ἐναντίων στόλον. ταχὺ δ' ἀποστειλάντων Ἀθηναίων μὲν ἑξήκοντα τριήρεις, Χίων δὲ καὶ Μυτιληναίων τριάκοντα, μεγάλην ἔχων δύναμιν συνεστήσατο τὴν πολιορκίαν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, συνεχεῖς ποιούμενος προσβολάς.
3 κατεσκεύασε δὲ καὶ μηχανὰς πρῶτος τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ τούς τε ὀνομαζομένους κριοὺς καὶ χελώνας, Ἀρτέμωνος τοῦ Κλαζομενίου κατασκευάσαντος. ἐνεργῶς δὲ πολιορκήσας τὴν πόλιν καὶ ταῖς μηχαναῖς καταβαλὼν τὰ τείχη κύριος ἐγένετο τῆς Σάμου. κολάσας δὲ τοὺς αἰτίους ἐπράξατο τοὺς Σαμίους τὰς εἰς τὴν πολιορκίαν γεγενημένας δαπάνας, τιμη-
4 σάμενος αὐτὰς ταλάντων διακοσίων. παρείλετο δὲ καὶ τὰς ναῦς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ τείχη κατέσκαψε, καὶ

[1] So Hertlein: εἰς.

ans again chose Pericles as general and dispatched him against the Samians with sixty ships. Thereupon Pericles fought a naval battle against seventy triremes of the Samians and defeated them; and then, summoning twenty-five ships from the Chians and Mytilenaeans, together with them he laid siege to the city of Samos. But a few days later Pericles left a part of his force to continue the siege and set out to sea to meet the Phoenician ships which the Persians had dispatched to the aid of the Samians.

28. The Samians, believing that because of the departure of Pericles they had a suitable opportunity to attack the ships that had been left behind, sailed against them, and having won the battle they were puffed up with pride. But when Pericles received word of the defeat of his forces, he at once turned back and gathered an imposing fleet, since he desired to destroy once and for all the fleet of the enemy. The Athenians rapidly dispatched sixty triremes and the Chians and Mytilenaeans thirty, and with this great armament Pericles renewed the siege both by land and by sea, making continuous assaults. He built also siege machines, being the first of all men to do so,[1] such as those called "rams" and "tortoises," Artemon of Clazomenae having built them; and by pushing the siege with energy and throwing down the walls by means of the siege machines he gained the mastery of Samos. After punishing the ringleaders of the revolt he exacted of the Samians the expenses incurred in the siege of the city, fixing the penalty at two hundred talents. He also took from them their ships and razed their

[1] The Assyrians had *siege machinery* several centuries earlier than this.

τὴν δημοκρατίαν καταστήσας ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα.

Ἀθηναίοις δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις μέχρι τούτων τῶν χρόνων αἱ τριακονταετεῖς σπονδαὶ διέμειναν ἀσάλευτοι.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐπράχθη κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν.

29. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Μυριχίδου Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Λεύκιον Ἰούλιον καὶ Μάρκον Γεγάνιον, Ἠλεῖοι δ' ἤγαγον Ὀλυμπιάδα πέμπτην πρὸς ταῖς ὀγοδοήκοντα, καθ' ἣν ἐνίκα Κρίσων Ἱμεραῖος τὸ δεύτερον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν Δουκέτιος μὲν ὁ γεγονὼς τῶν Σικελικῶν πόλεων ἡγεμὼν τὴν τῶν Καλακτίνων πατρίδα κατέστησε, καὶ πολλοὺς εἰς αὐτὴν οἰκίζων οἰκήτορας ἀντεποιήσατο μὲν τῆς τῶν Σικελῶν ἡγεμονίας, μεσολαβηθεὶς δὲ νόσῳ τὸν
2 βίον κατέστρεψε. Συρακόσιοι δὲ πάσας τὰς τῶν Σικελῶν πόλεις ὑπηκόους ποιησάμενοι πλὴν τῆς ὀνομαζομένης Τρινακίης, ἔγνωσαν ἐπὶ ταύτην στρατεύειν· σφόδρα γὰρ ὑπώπτευον τοὺς Τρινακίους ἀντιλήψεσθαι τῆς τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν Σικελῶν ἡγεμονίας. ἡ δὲ πόλις αὕτη πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους ἄνδρας εἶχεν, ἀεὶ τὸ πρωτεῖον ἐσχηκυῖα τῶν Σικελικῶν πόλεων· ἦν γὰρ ἡγεμόνων ἡ πόλις αὕτη
3 πλήρης μέγα φρονούντων ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ. διὸ καὶ πάσας τὰς δυνάμεις ἀθροίσαντες ἐκ τῶν Συρακουσῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων πόλεων ἐστράτευσαν ἐπ' αὐτήν. οἱ δὲ Τρινάκιοι συμμάχων μὲν ἦσαν ἔρημοι διὰ τὸ[1] τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ὑπακούειν Συρακο-

[1] τὸ Vogel: δὲ.

walls; then he restored the democracy and returned to his country.

As for the Athenians and Lacedaemonians, the thirty-year truce between them remained unshaken to this time.

These, then, were the events of this year.

29. When Myrichides was archon in Athens, the 440 B.C.
Romans elected as consuls Lucius Julius and Marcus Geganius, and the Eleians celebrated the Eighty-fifth Olympiad, that in which Crison of Himera won the "stadion" for the second time.[1] In Sicily, in this year, Ducetius, the former leader of the cities of the Siceli, founded the native city of the Calactians,[2] and when he had established many colonists there, he laid claim to the leadership of the Siceli, but his attempt was cut short by illness and his life was ended. The Syracusans had made subject to them all the cities of the Siceli with the exception of Trinaciê, as it is called, and against it they decided to send an army; for they were deeply apprehensive lest the Trinacians should make a bid for the leadership of the Siceli, who were their kinsmen. There were many great men in this city, since it had always occupied the chief position among the cities of the Siceli; for it was full of military leaders who took an immense pride in their own manly spirit. Consequently the Syracusans marched against it after having mustered all their own armaments and those of their allied states. The Trinacians were without allies, since all the other cities were subject to the

[1] For the third time; cp. chaps. 5 and 23.
[2] The inhabitants of Calê Actê; cp. chap. 8. 2 *supra*.

σίοις, μέγαν δ'[1] ἀγῶνα συνεστήσαντο. ἐκθύμως γὰρ ἐγκαρτεροῦντες τοῖς δεινοῖς καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνελόντες, ἡρωικῶς μαχόμενοι πάντες κατέστρεψαν τὸν
4 βίον. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων οἱ πλείους ἑαυτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν μετέστησαν, οὐχ ὑπομείναντες τὰς ἐκ τῆς ἁλώσεως ὕβρεις. οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι τοὺς πρότερον ἀηττήτους γεγονότας νικήσαντες ἐπιφανῶς, τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐξανδραποδισάμενοι κατέσκαψαν, τῶν δὲ λαφύρων τὰ κράτιστα ἀπέστειλαν εἰς Δελφοὺς χαριστήρια τῷ θεῷ.

30. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Γλαυκίδου Ῥωμαῖοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Τίτον Κοΐντιον καὶ Ἀγρίππαν Φούριον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Συρακόσιοι διὰ τὰς προειρημένας εὐημερίας ἑκατὸν μὲν τριήρεις ἐναυπηγήσαντο, τὸν δὲ τῶν ἱππέων ἀριθμὸν ἐποίησαν διπλάσιον· ἐπεμελήθησαν δὲ καὶ τῆς πεζῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ χρημάτων παρασκευὰς ἐποιοῦντο, φόρους ἁδροτέρους τοῖς ὑποτεταγμένοις Σικελοῖς ἐπιτιθέντες. ταῦτα δ' ἔπραττον διανοούμενοι πᾶσαν Σικελίαν ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον κατακτήσασθαι.

2 Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα συνέβη τὸν Κορινθιακὸν κληθέντα πόλεμον ἀρχὴν λαβεῖν διὰ τοιαύτας τινὰς αἰτίας. Ἐπιδάμνιοι κατοικοῦντες περὶ[2] τὸν Ἀδρίαν, ἄποικοι δ' ὑπάρχοντες Κερκυραίων καὶ Κορινθίων, ἐστασίασαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους. τῆς δ' ἐπικρατούσης μερίδος φυγαδευούσης πολλοὺς τῶν ἀντιπραττόντων, οἱ φυγάδες ἀθροισθέντες καὶ παραλαβόντες τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς ἔπλευσαν κοινῇ μετ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον.

[1] δ' added by Reiske, Madvig.
[2] So Hertlein: ἐπί.

Syracusans, but they none the less offered a strong resistance. They held out valiantly against the perils they encountered and slew great numbers, and they all ended their lives fighting heroically. In like manner even the majority of the older men removed themselves from life, being unwilling to endure the despite they would suffer at the capture of their city. And the Syracusans, after conquering in brilliant fashion men who had never before been subdued, sold the inhabitants into slavery and utterly destroyed the city, and the choicest of the booty they sent to Delphi as a thank-offering to the god.

30. When Glaucides was archon in Athens, the 439 B.C.
Romans elected as consuls Titus Quinctius and Agrippa Furius. During this year the Syracusans, because of the successes we have described, built one hundred triremes and doubled the number of their cavalry; they also developed their infantry forces and made financial preparations by laying heavier tributes upon the Siceli who were now subject to them. This they were doing with the intention of subduing all Sicily little by little.

While these events were taking place it came about in Greece that the Corinthian War,[1] as it is called, began for the following causes. Civil strife broke out among the Epidamnians who dwell upon the Adriatic Sea and are colonists of the Cercyraeans and Corinthians.[2] The successful group sent into exile large numbers of their opponents, but the exiles gathered into one body, associated the Illyrians with themselves, and sailed together with them against

[1] The correct date is 435 B.C.
[2] The Epidamnians were in fact colonists of Cercyra, which was a colony of Corinth.

3 στρατευσάντων δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων πολλῇ δυνάμει,
καὶ τὴν μὲν χώραν κατασχόντων, τὴν δὲ πόλιν
πολιορκούντων, οἱ μὲν Ἐπιδάμνιοι, καθ' ἑαυτοὺς
οὐκ ὄντες ἀξιόμαχοι, πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν εἰς Κέρκυ-
ραν, ἀξιοῦντες τοὺς Κερκυραίους συγγενεῖς ὄντας
βοηθῆσαι. οὐ προσεχόντων δ' αὐτῶν, ἐπρεσβεύ-
σαντο πρὸς Κορινθίους περὶ συμμαχίας, καὶ μόνην
ἐκείνην ἐποιήσαντο μητρόπολιν· ἅμα δὲ καὶ συν-
4 οίκους ᾐτοῦντο. οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι τοὺς μὲν Ἐπιδα-
μνίους ἐλεοῦντες, τοὺς δὲ Κερκυραίους μισοῦντες διὰ
τὸ μόνους τῶν ἀποίκων μὴ πέμπειν τὰ κατειθισ-
μένα ἱερεῖα τῇ μητροπόλει, ἔκριναν βοηθεῖν τοῖς
Ἐπιδαμνίοις. διόπερ ἀποίκους τε ἐξέπεμψαν εἰς
τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον καὶ στρατιώτας ἱκανοὺς φρουρῆσαι
5 τὴν πόλιν. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οἱ Κερκυραῖοι παροξυν-
θέντες ἀπέστειλαν πεντήκοντα τριήρεις καὶ στρατη-
γὸν ἐπ' αὐτῶν. οὗτος δὲ προσπλεύσας τῇ πόλει
προσέταττε τοὺς μὲν φυγάδας καταδέχεσθαι· ἐπὶ
δὲ τοὺς φρουροὺς Κορινθίους πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλαν
ἀξιοῦντες δικαστηρίῳ κριθῆναι περὶ τῆς ἀποικίας,
μὴ πολέμῳ. τῶν δὲ Κορινθίων οὐ προσεχόντων
αὐτοῖς, συγκατέβησαν εἰς πόλεμον ἀμφότεροι, καὶ
ναυτικὰς δυνάμεις ἀξιολόγους κατεσκεύαζον καὶ
συμμάχους προσελαμβάνοντο. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κοριν-
θιακὸς ὀνομασθεὶς πόλεμος συνέστη διὰ τὰς προ-
ειρημένας αἰτίας.
6 Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ πρὸς Οὐολούσκους διαπολεμοῦντες
τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀκροβολισμοὺς καὶ μικρὰς μάχας

Epidamnus. Since the barbarians[1] had taken the field with a large army, had seized the countryside, and were investing the city, the Epidamnians, who of themselves were not equal to them in battle, dispatched ambassadors to Cercyra, asking the Cercyraeans on the grounds of kinship to come to their aid. When the Cercyraeans paid no attention to the request, they sent ambassadors to seek an alliance with the Corinthians and declared Corinth to be their single mother-city; at the same time they asked for colonists. And the Corinthians, partly out of pity for the Epidamnians and partly out of hatred for the Cercyraeans, since they alone of the colonists who had gone from Corinth would not send the customary sacrificial animals to the mother-city, decided to go to the aid of the Epidamnians. Consequently they sent to Epidamnus both colonists and soldiers in sufficient numbers to garrison the city. At this the Cercyraeans became irritated and sent out a squadron of fifty triremes under the command of a general. He, sailing up to the city, issued orders to receive back the exiles, while they dispatched ambassadors to the guards from Corinth demanding that the question of the origin of the colony be decided by a court of arbiters, not by war. When the Corinthians made no answer to this proposal, both sides decided upon war, and they set about fitting out great naval armaments and gathering allies. And so the Corinthian War, as it has been called, broke out for the reasons we have narrated.

The Romans were at war with the Volscians[2] and at first they engaged only in skirmishes and unim-

[1] The Illyrians.

[2] Cp. Livy, 3. 66.

συνετέλουν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παρατάξει μεγάλῃ νικήσαντες τοὺς πλείους τῶν πολεμίων κατέκοψαν.

31. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Θεοδώρου Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Μάρκον Γενύκιον καὶ Ἀγρίππαν Κούρτιον Χίλωνα. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων κατὰ μὲν τὴν Ἰταλίαν τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Καμπανῶν συνέστη, καὶ ταύτης ἔτυχε τῆς προσηγορίας ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς τοῦ πλησίον κειμένου πεδίου.

Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀσίαν οἱ τοῦ Κιμμερίου Βοσπόρου βασιλεύσαντες, ὀνομασθέντες δὲ Ἀρχαιανακτίδαι, ἦρξαν ἔτη δύο πρὸς τοῖς τετταράκοντα· διεδέξατο δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν Σπάρτακος, καὶ ἦρξεν ἔτη ἑπτά.

2 Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Κορίνθιοι πρὸς Κερκυραίους διαπολεμοῦντες καὶ παρασκευασάμενοι ναυτικὰς δυνάμεις, συνεστήσαντο ναυμαχίαν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Κορίνθιοι ἔχοντες ναῦς ἑβδομήκοντα καλῶς ἐξηρτυμένας ἐπέπλευσαν τοῖς πολεμίοις· οἱ δὲ Κερκυραῖοι τριήρεσιν ὀγδοήκοντα ἀντιταχθέντες ἐνίκησαν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, καὶ τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον ἐκπολιορκήσαντες[1] τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους αἰχμαλώτους ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ Κορινθίους δήσαντες εἰς φυλακὴν
3 παρέδοσαν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ναυμαχίαν οἱ μὲν Κορίνθιοι καταπλαγέντες κατέπλευσαν εἰς Πελοπόννησον, οἱ δὲ Κερκυραῖοι θαλαττοκρατοῦντες τῆς κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς τόπους θαλάττης ἐπέπλεον τοῖς Κορινθίων συμμάχοις καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐπόρθουν.

32. Τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυσίου χρόνου διελθόντος Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἦρχεν Εὐθυμένης, ἐν Ῥώμῃ δ' ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων χιλίαρχοι κατεστάθησαν τρεῖς, Αὖλος Σεμπρώνιος, Λεύκιος Ἀτίλιος, Τίτος Κοΐντιος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων

[1] So Dindorf: πολιορκήσαντες.

portant engagements, but later they conquered them in a great pitched battle and slew the larger number of the enemy.

31. When Theodorus was archon in Athens, the Romans elected as consuls Marcus Genucius and Agrippa Curtius Chilo. In Italy, during this year, the nation of the Campani was formed, deriving their name from the fertility of the plain about them.[1] 438 B.C.

In Asia the dynasty of the Cimmerian Bosporus, whose kings were known as the Archaeanactidae, ruled for forty-two years; and the successor to the kingship was Spartacus, who reigned seven years.[2]

In Greece the Corinthians were at war with the Cercyraeans, and after preparing naval armaments they made ready for a battle at sea. Now the Corinthians with seventy excellently equipped ships sailed against their enemy; but the Cercyraeans opposed them with eighty triremes and won the battle, and then they forced the surrender of Epidamnus and put to death all the captives except the Corinthians, whom they cast in chains and imprisoned. After the sea battle the Corinthians withdrew in dismay to the Peloponnesus, and the Cercyraeans, who were now masters of the sea in those regions, made frequent descents upon the allies of the Corinthians, ravaging their lands.

32. At the end of the year the archon in Athens was Euthymenes, and in Rome instead of consuls three military tribunes were elected, Aulus Sempronius, Lucius Atilius, and Titus Quinctius. During 437 B.C.

[1] Campania is probably derived from the Latin word *campus* ("plain").

[2] The capital of this kingdom was Panticapaeum, on the present Straits of Kertch.

Κορίνθιοι μὲν ἡττημένοι τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ναυπηγήσασθαι στόλον ἀξιολογώτερον ἔκριναν.
2 διόπερ ὕλην πολλὴν παρασκευασάμενοι καὶ ναυπηγοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων μισθούμενοι μετὰ πολλῆς φιλοτιμίας κατεσκεύαζον τριήρεις καὶ ὅπλα καὶ βέλη παντοδαπά, καὶ καθόλου πάσας τὰς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευὰς ἡτοίμαζον, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐκ καταβολῆς τριήρεις ἐναυπηγοῦντο, τὰς δὲ πεπονηκυίας ἐθεράπευον, ἄλ-
3 λας δὲ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων μετεπέμποντο. τὸ δὲ[1] παραπλήσιον καὶ τῶν Κερκυραίων ποιούντων καὶ ταῖς φιλοτιμίαις οὐκ ἀπολιμπανομένων, φανερὸς ἦν ὁ πόλεμος αὔξησιν μεγάλην ληψόμενος.

Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Ἀθηναῖοι συνῴκισαν Ἀμφίπολιν, καὶ τῶν οἰκητόρων οὓς μὲν ἐκ τῶν πολιτῶν κατέλεξαν, οὓς δ' ἐκ τῶν σύνεγγυς φρουρίων.

33. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Λυσιμάχου[2] Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ὑπάτους κατέστησαν Τίτον Κοΐντιον καὶ Μάρκον Γεγάνιον Μακερῖνον, Ἠλεῖοι δ' ἤγαγον Ὀλυμπιάδα ἕκτην πρὸς ταῖς ὀγδοήκοντα, καθ' ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Θεόπομπος Θετταλός. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Κερκυραῖοι μὲν πυνθανόμενοι τῶν παρασκευαζομένων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς δυνάμεων τὸ πλῆθος, ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πρέσβεις ἀξιοῦντες αὐτοῖς
2 βοηθῆσαι. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ Κορινθίων ποιησάντων, καὶ συναχθείσης ἐκκλησίας, διήκουσε τῶν πρέσβεων ὁ δῆμος, καὶ ἐψηφίσατο συμμαχεῖν Κερκυραίοις. διὸ καὶ παραχρῆμα μὲν ἐξέπεμψαν τριήρεις κατηρτισμένας δέκα, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πλείους ἐπ-
3 ηγγείλαντο πέμψειν, ἐὰν ᾖ χρεία. οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι τῆς τῶν Ἀθηναίων συμμαχίας ἀποτυχόντες, ἐνενή-

[1] δὲ added by Vogel. [2] So Wesseling: Ναυσιμάχου.

this year the Corinthians, who had suffered defeat in the sea-battle, decided to build a more imposing fleet. Consequently, having procured a great amount of timber and hiring shipbuilders from other cities, they set about with great eagerness building triremes and fabricating arms and missiles of every description; and, speaking generally, they were making ready all the equipment needed for the war and, in particular, triremes, of which they were building some from their keels, repairing others which had been damaged, and requisitioning still others from their allies. And since the Cercyraeans were doing the same thing and were not being outdone in eagerness, it was clear that the war was going to increase greatly in intensity.

While these events were taking place the Athenians founded the colony of Amphipolis, selecting the colonists in part from their own citizens and in part from garrisons in the neighbourhood.

33. When Lysimachus was archon in Athens, the 436 B.C.
Romans elected as consuls Titus Quinctius and Marcus Geganius Macerinus, and the Eleians celebrated the Eighty-sixth Olympiad, that in which Theopompus the Thessalian won the "stadion." In this year the Cercyraeans, learning of the great scale of the armaments which were being prepared against them, dispatched ambassadors to the Athenians asking their aid. Since the Corinthians did the same thing, an Assembly was convened, and the Athenian people after listening to the ambassadors voted to form an alliance with the Cercyraeans. Consequently they dispatched at once ten fully equipped triremes and promised that they would send more later if necessary. The Corinthians, after their failure to conclude an alliance with the Athenians, manned

κοντα μὲν αὐτοὶ τριήρεις ἐπλήρωσαν, παρὰ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων ἑξήκοντα προσελάβοντο. ἔχοντες οὖν ναῦς κατηρτισμένας ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα, καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἑλόμενοι τοὺς χαριεστάτους, ἀνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Κέρκυραν, κεκρικότες διὰ τάχους ναυμαχῆσαι. οἱ δὲ Κερκυραῖοι πυνθανόμενοι τὸν τῶν πολεμίων
4 στόλον μὴ μακρὰν ἀπέχειν, ἀντανήχθησαν τριήρεσιν ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι σὺν ταῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων. γενομένης δὲ ναυμαχίας ἰσχυρᾶς, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπεκράτουν οἱ Κορίνθιοι, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιφανέντων ἄλλαις εἴκοσι ναυσίν, ἃς ἀπεστάλκεσαν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ συμμαχίᾳ, συνέβη νικῆσαι τοὺς Κερκυραίους. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ πάντων τῶν Κερκυραίων ἐπιπλευσάντων οὐκ ἀνήχθησαν οἱ Κορίνθιοι.

34. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησιν Ἀντιοχίδου Ῥωμαῖοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Μάρκον Φάβιον καὶ Πόστουμον Αἰβούτιον Οὔλεκον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων, Ἀθηναίων μὲν συνηγωνισμένων τοῖς Κερκυραίοις καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν νίκης αἰτίων γενομένων, χαλεπῶς εἶχον πρὸς αὐτοὺς οἱ Κορίνθιοι.
2 διόπερ ἀμύνεσθαι σπεύδοντες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἀπέστησαν ἀπ' αὐτῶν πόλιν Ποτίδαιαν, οὖσαν ἑαυτῶν ἄποικον. ὁμοίως δὲ τούτοις καὶ Περδίκκας ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεύς, ἀλλοτρίως διακείμενος πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, ἔπεισε τοὺς Χαλκιδεῖς ἀποστάντας Ἀθηναίων τὰς μὲν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ πόλεις ἐκλιπεῖν, εἰς μίαν δὲ συνοικισθῆναι τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Ὄλυνθον.
3 οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν ἀπόστασιν τῶν Ποτιδαιατῶν ἀκούσαντες ἐξέπεμψαν τριάκοντα ναῦς καὶ προσ-

[1] This refers to the vote of the Athenian Assembly just above to "send more later if necessary."

by themselves ninety triremes and received in addition sixty from their allies. With, therefore, one hundred and fifty fully equipped triremes and after selecting their most accomplished generals, they put to sea against Cercyra, having decided to join battle at once. And when the Cercyraeans learned that the enemy's fleet was not far off, they put out to sea against them with one hundred and twenty triremes including the Athenian. A sharp battle took place, and at the outset the Corinthians had the upper hand; but later, when the Athenians came on the scene with twenty additional ships which they had sent in accordance with the second alliance,[1] it turned out that the Cercyraeans were victorious. And on the next day, when the Cercyraeans sailed against them in full force for battle, the Corinthians did not put out.

34. When Antiochides was archon in Athens, the 435 B.C.
Romans elected as consuls Marcus Fabius and Postumus Aebutius Ulecus.[2] In this year, since the Athenians had fought at the side of the Cercyraeans and been responsible for their victory in the sea-battle, the Corinthians were incensed at them. Being eager, therefore, to retaliate upon the Athenians, they incited the city of Potidaea, which was one of their own colonies, to revolt from the Athenians. And in like manner Peridiccas, the king of the Macedonians, who was also at odds with the Athenians, persuaded the Chalcidians, who had revolted from the Athenians, to abandon their cities on the sea and unite in forming a single city known as Olynthus. When the Athenians heard of the revolt of the Potidaeans, they dispatched thirty ships with orders

[2] Ulecus is a corruption of Alba or Elva.

ἔταξαν τήν τε χώραν τῶν ἀφεστηκότων λεηλατῆσαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν πορθῆσαι. οἱ δὲ πεμφθέντες καταπλεύσαντες εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν κατὰ τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ δήμου, συνεστήσαντο πολιορκίαν τῆς Ποτι-
4 δαίας. ἔνθα δὴ τῶν Κορινθίων βοηθησάντων τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις δισχιλίοις στρατιώταις, δισχιλίους καὶ ὁ δῆμος τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐξέπεμψε. γενομένης δὲ μάχης περὶ τὸν ἰσθμὸν τὸν πλησίον τῆς Παλληνίων, καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων νικησάντων καὶ πλείους τῶν τριακοσίων ἀνελόντων, οἱ Ποτιδαιᾶται συν-
5 εκλείσθησαν εἰς πολιορκίαν. ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις ἔκτισαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πόλιν ἐν τῇ Προποντίδι τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Ἀστακόν.[1]

Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν Ῥωμαῖοι πέμψαντες ἀποίκους εἰς Ἄρδεα τὴν χώραν κατεκληρούχησαν.

35. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Κράτητος[2] Ῥωμαῖοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Κόιντον Φούριον Φοῦσον[3] καὶ Μάνιον Παπίριον Κράσσον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν οἱ τοὺς Θουρίους οἰκοῦντες, ἐκ πολλῶν πόλεων συνεστηκότες, ἐστασίαζον πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ποίας πόλεως ἀποίκους δεῖ καλεῖσθαι τοὺς Θουρίους καὶ τίνα κτίστην δίκαιον ὀνομάζε-
2 σθαι. οἵ τε γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς ἀποικίας ταύτης ἠμφισβήτουν, ἀποφαινόμενοι πλείστους οἰκήτορας ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐληλυθέναι, ἔτι δ' αἱ κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον πόλεις, οὐκ ὀλίγους παρεσχημέναι[4] παρ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν κτίσιν τῶν Θουρίων, τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν τῆς ἀποικίας ἑαυτοῖς ἔφησαν δεῖν προσάπτεσθαι.

[1] So Niese (see Meritt, *Athenian Tribute Lists*, 472, n. 1): Λέτανον.

[2] So Böckh: Χάρητος. [3] So Rhodoman: φόσον.

[4] ἔτι δὲ (om. A, ἔτι δ' αἱ Wesseling) κατὰ τ. Π. (οἵ τε Πελοποννήσιοι P for ἔτι δ. κ. τ. Π.) πόλεις οὐκ ὀλίγους (ὀλίγας FMP) παρεσχηκέναι (παρεσχημέναι Dindorf) MSS. Here, as frequently, Vogel follows P too readily against other MSS.

to ravage the territory of the rebels and to sack their city; and the expedition landed in Macedonia, as the Athenian people had ordered them to do, and undertook the siege of Potidaea. Thereupon the Corinthians came to the help of the besieged with two thousand soldiers and the Athenian people also sent two thousand. In the battle which took place on the isthmus near Pallenê the Athenians were victorious and slew over three hundred of the enemy, and the Potidaeans were entirely beleaguered. And while these events were taking place, the Athenians founded in the Propontis a city which was given the name of Astacus.

In Italy the Romans sent colonists to Ardea and portioned out the land in allotments.

35. When Crates was archon in Athens, the Romans 431 B.C.
elected as consuls Quintus Furius Fusus and Manius Papirius Crassus. This year in Italy the inhabitants of Thurii, who had been gathered together from many cities,[1] divided into factions over the question from what city the Thurians should say they came as colonists and what man should justly be called the founder of the city. The situation was that the Athenians were laying claim to this colony on the grounds, as they alleged, that the majority of its colonists had come from Athens; and, besides, the cities of the Peloponnesus, which had provided from their people not a few to the founding of Thurii, maintained that the colonization of the city should

[1] See chap. 11.

3 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν κεκοινωνηκότων τῆς ἀποικίας καὶ πολλὰς χρείας παρεσχημένων, πολὺς ἦν ὁ λόγος, ἑκάστου τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης σπεύδοντος τυχεῖν. τέλος δὲ τῶν Θουρίων πεμψάντων εἰς Δελφοὺς τοὺς ἐπερωτήσοντας τίνα χρὴ τῆς πόλεως οἰκιστὴν ἀγορεύειν, ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησεν αὐτὸν δεῖν κτίστην νομίζεσθαι. τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ λυθείσης τῆς ἀμφισβητήσεως τὸν Ἀπόλλω κτίστην τῶν Θουρίων ἀπέδειξαν, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς στάσεως ἀπολυθὲν εἰς τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν ὁμόνοιαν ἀποκατέστη.

4 Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς ἐτελεύτησεν ἄρξας ἔτη τετταράκοντα δύο, τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν διαδεξάμενος Ἆγις ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη εἴκοσι ἑπτά.

36. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησιν Ἀψεύδους Ῥωμαῖοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Τίτον Μενήνιον καὶ Πρόκλον Γεγάνιον Μακερῖνον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Σπάρτακος μὲν ὁ Βοσπόρου βασιλεὺς ἐτελεύτησεν ἄρξας ἔτη ἑπτά, διεδέξατο δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν Σέλευκος καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη τετταράκοντα.

2 Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις Μέτων ὁ Παυσανίου μὲν υἱός, δεδοξασμένος δὲ ἐν ἀστρολογίᾳ, ἐξέθηκε τὴν ὀνομαζομένην ἐννεακαιδεκαετηρίδα, τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενος ἀπὸ μηνὸς ἐν Ἀθήναις σκιροφοριῶνος τρισκαιδεκάτης. ἐν δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἔτεσι τὰ ἄστρα τὴν ἀποκατάστασιν ποιεῖται καὶ καθάπερ

[1] Archidamus died in 426 B.C. This error on the part of Diodorus is all the more surprising since he states that Archidamus led an army into Boeotia in 429 (chap. 47. 1) and invaded Attica in 426 (chap. 52. 1).

be ascribed to them. Likewise, since many able men had shared in the founding of the colony and had rendered many services, there was much discussion on the matter, since each one of them was eager to have this honour fall to him. In the end the Thurians sent a delegation to Delphi to inquire what man they should call the founder of their city, and the god replied that he himself should be considered to be its founder. After the dispute had been settled in this manner, they declared Apollo to have been the founder of Thurii, and the people, being now freed from the civil discord, returned to the state of harmony which they had previously enjoyed.

In Greece Archidamus, the king of the Lacedaemonians, died after a reign of forty-two years, and Agis succeeded to the throne and was king for twenty-five years.[1]

36. When Apseudes was archon in Athens, the Romans elected as consuls Titus Menenius and Proculus Geganius Macerinus. During this year Spartacus, the king of the Bosporus,[2] died after a reign of seven years, and Seleucus succeeded to the throne and was king for forty years. 433 B.C.

In Athens Meton, the son of Pausanias, who had won fame for his study of the stars, revealed to the public his nineteen-year cycle,[3] as it is called, the beginning of which he fixed on the thirteenth day of the Athenian month of Scirophorion. In this number of years the stars accomplish their return to the same place in the heavens and conclude, as it were, the

[2] The Straits of Kertch; the kingdom included all the territory about the Sea of Azof.

[3] According to Philochorus (Schol. to Aristophanes, *Av.* 997) what Meton set up was a sundial, on the wall of the Pnyx.

ἐνιαυτοῦ τινος μεγάλου τὸν ἀνακυκλισμὸν λαμβάνει· διὸ καί τινες αὐτὸν Μέτωνος ἐνιαυτὸν ὀνο-
3 μάζουσι. δοκεῖ δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος ἐν τῇ προρρήσει καὶ προγραφῇ ταύτῃ θαυμαστῶς ἐπιτετευχέναι· τὰ γὰρ ἄστρα τήν τε κίνησιν καὶ τὰς ἐπισημασίας ποιεῖται συμφώνως τῇ γραφῇ· διὸ μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων χρώμενοι τῇ ἐννεακαιδεκαετηρίδι οὐ διαψεύδονται τῆς ἀληθείας.

4 Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν Ταραντῖνοι τοὺς τὴν Σῖριν καλουμένην οἰκοῦντας μετοικίσαντες ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ἰδίους προσθέντες οἰκήτορας, ἔκτισαν πόλιν τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Ἡράκλειαν.

37. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Πυθοδώρου Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ὑπάτους κατέστησαν Τίτον Κοΐντιον καὶ Νίττον Μενήνιον, Ἠλεῖοι δ' ἤγαγον Ὀλυμπιάδα ἑβδόμην πρὸς ταῖς ὀγδοήκοντα, καθ' ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Σώφρων Ἀμπρακιώτης. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ Σπόριος Μαίλιος ἐπιθέμενος τυραννίδι ἀνῃρέθη. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ περὶ Ποτίδαιαν νενικηκότες ἐπιφανεῖ μάχῃ, Καλλίου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πεσόντος ἐν τῇ παρατάξει, στρατηγὸν ἕτερον ἐξέπεμψαν Φορμίωνα. οὗτος δὲ παραλαβὼν τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ προσκαθήμενος τῇ πόλει τῶν Ποτιδαιατῶν συνεχεῖς προσβολὰς ἐποιεῖτο· ἀμυνομένων δὲ τῶν ἔνδον εὐρώστως ἐγένετο πολυχρόνιος πολιορκία.

2 Θουκυδίδης δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐν-

[1] Meton certainly was too good an astronomer to have spoken of "stars." This Metonic Cycle was designed to adjust the lunar year, which all the Greeks used, to the solar year. Its scheme called for the intercalation of seven lunar months in the nineteen years. Modern computation shows that 235 lunations are 6,939 days, 16.5 hours, and 19 solar

circuit of what may be called a Great Year; consequently it is called by some the Year of Meton. And we find that this man was astonishingly fortunate in this prediction which he published; for the stars complete both their movement and the effects they produce in accordance with his reckoning. Consequently, even down to our own day, the larger number of the Greeks use the nineteen-year cycle and are not cheated of the truth.[1]

In Italy the Tarantini removed the inhabitants of Siris,[2] as it is called, from their native city, and adding to them colonists from their own citizens, they founded a city which they named Heracleia.

37. When Pythodorus was archon in Athens, the 432 B.C.
Romans elected as consuls Titus Quinctius and Nittus Menenius, and the Eleians celebrated the Eighty-seventh Olympiad, that in which Sophron of Ambracia won the "stadion." In Rome in this year Spurius Maelius was put to death while striving for despotic power. And the Athenians, who had won a striking victory around Potidaea, dispatched a second general, Phormion, in the place of their general Callias who had fallen on the field. After taking over the command of the army Phormion settled down to the siege of the city of the Potidaeans, making continuous assaults upon it; but the defenders resisted with vigour and the siege became a long affair.

Thucydides, the Athenian, commenced his history

years are 6,939 days, 14.5 hours. An inscription from Miletus reveals that in 432 B.C. the summer solstice, which is the beginning of the solar year, fell on the 13th day of the month Scirophorion, the date given by Diodorus for the beginning of Meton's 19-year cycle. See B. D. Meritt, *The Athenian Calendar in the Fifth Century*, p. 88.

[2] On the gulf of Tarentum.

τεῦθεν ἀρξάμενος ἔγραψε τὸν γενόμενον πόλεμον Ἀθηναίοις πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους τὸν ὀνομασθέντα Πελοποννησιακόν. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὁ πόλεμος διέμεινεν ἐπὶ ἔτη εἴκοσι ἑπτά, ὁ δὲ Θουκυδίδης ἔτη δύο πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι γέγραφεν ἐν βίβλοις ὀκτώ, ὡς δέ τινες διαιροῦσιν, ἐννέα.

38. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησιν Εὐθυδήμου Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων τρεῖς χιλιάρχους κατέστησαν, Μάνιον Αἰμιλιανὸν[1] Μάμερκον, Γάιον Ἰούλιον, Λεύκιον Κοΐντιον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐνέστη πόλεμος ὁ κληθεὶς Πελοποννησιακός, μακρότατος τῶν ἱστορημένων πολέμων. ἀναγκαῖον δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς ὑποκειμένης ἱστορίας οἰκεῖον[2] προεκθέσθαι τὰς αἰτίας αὐτοῦ.

2 Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν ἡγεμονίας ἀντεχόμενοι τὰ ἐν Δήλῳ κοινῇ συνηγμένα χρήματα, τάλαντα σχεδὸν ὀκτακισχίλια, μετήνεγκαν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ παρέδωκαν φυλάττειν Περικλεῖ. οὗτος δ' ἦν εὐγενείᾳ καὶ δόξῃ καὶ λόγου δεινότητι πολὺ προέχων τῶν πολιτῶν. μετὰ δέ τινα χρόνον ἀνηλωκὼς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἰδίᾳ πλῆθος ἱκανὸν χρημάτων καὶ λόγον ἀπαιτούμενος εἰς ἀρρωστίαν ἐνέπεσεν, οὐ δυνάμενος τῶν πεπιστευμένων ἀποδοῦναι τὸν ἀπο-
3 λογισμόν. ἀδημονοῦντος δ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τούτων, Ἀλκιβιάδης ὁ ἀδελφιδοῦς, ὀρφανὸς ὤν, τρεφόμενος παρ' αὐτῷ, παῖς ὢν τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἀφορμὴν αὐτῷ

[1] καὶ after Αἰμιλιανόν deleted by Rhodoman.
[2] τὸ after οἰκεῖον deleted by Vogel.

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[1] Thucydides wrote a continuous account, and the ancients knew of divisions into as many as thirteen Books.

[2] The following "causes" are clearly drawn from a violent anti-Periclean source, and Diodorus himself appears to wish

with this year, giving an account of the war between the Athenians and the Lacedaemonians, the war which has been called the Peloponnesian. This war lasted twenty-seven years, but Thucydides described twenty-two years in eight Books or, as others divide it, in nine.[1]

38. When Euthydemus was archon in Athens, the 431 B.C.
Romans elected in place of consuls three military tribunes, Manius Aemilianus Mamercus, Gaius Julius, and Lucius Quinctius. In this year there began the Peloponnesian War, as it has been called, between the Athenians and the Peloponnesians, the longest of all the wars which history records; and it is necessary and appropriate to the plan of our history to set forth at the outset the causes[2] of the war.

While the Athenians were still striving for the mastery of the sea, the funds which had been collected as a common undertaking and placed at Delos, amounting to some eight thousand talents,[3] they had transferred to Athens[4] and given over to Pericles to guard. This man stood far above his fellow citizens in birth, renown, and ability as an orator. But after some time he had spent a very considerable amount of this money for his own purposes, and when he was called upon for an accounting he fell ill, since he was unable to render the statement of the monies with which he had been entrusted. While he was worried over the matter, Alcibiades, his nephew, who was an orphan and was being reared at the home of Pericles, though still a lad showed him a way out

to disavow them when he states (chap. 41. 1) that he has taken them directly from Ephorus.

[3] Given as ten thousand in chaps. 40. 2; 54. 3; Book 13. 21. 2.

[4] In 454 B.C.

παρέσχετο τῆς περὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἀπολογίας. θεωρῶν γὰρ τὸν θεῖον λυπούμενον ἐπηρώτησε τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς λύπης. τοῦ δὲ Περικλέους εἰπόντος ὅτι τὴν περὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἀπολογίαν αἰτούμενος ζητῶ πῶς ἂν δυναίμην ἀποδοῦναι τὸν περὶ τούτων λόγον τοῖς πολίταις, ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἔφησε δεῖν αὐτὸν ζητεῖν μὴ πῶς ἀποδῷ τὸν λόγον, ἀλλὰ πῶς
4 μὴ ἀποδῷ. διόπερ Περικλῆς ἀποδεξάμενος τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς ἀπόφασιν ἐζήτει δι' οὗ τρόπου τοὺς Ἀθηναίους δύναιτ' ἂν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς μέγαν πόλεμον· οὕτω γὰρ μάλιστα ὑπελάμβανε διὰ τὴν ταραχὴν καὶ τοὺς τῆς πόλεως περισπασμοὺς καὶ φόβους ἐκφεύξεσθαι τὸν ἀκριβῆ λόγον τῶν χρημάτων. πρὸς δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἀφορμὴν συνέβαινεν[1] αὐτῷ καὶ ταὐτόματον διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας.

39. Τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα Φειδίας μὲν κατεσκεύαζε, Περικλῆς δὲ ὁ Ξανθίππου καθεσταμένος ἦν ἐπιμελητής. τῶν δὲ συνεργασαμένων τῷ Φειδίᾳ τινὲς διενεχθέντες[2] ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τοῦ Περικλέους ἐκάθισαν ἐπὶ τῶν τῶν θεῶν βωμῶν[3]· διὰ δὲ[4] τὸ παράδοξον προσκαλούμενοι ἔφασαν πολλὰ τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων ἔχοντα Φειδίαν δείξειν, ἐπισταμένου καὶ συνεργοῦντος τοῦ ἐπιμελητοῦ Περικλέους.
2 διόπερ ἐκκλησίας συνελθούσης περὶ τούτων, οἱ μὲν ἐχθροὶ τοῦ Περικλέους ἔπεισαν τὸν δῆμον συλλαβεῖν τὸν Φειδίαν, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Περικλέους κατηγόρουν ἱεροσυλίαν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἀναξαγόραν τὸν σοφιστήν, διδάσκαλον ὄντα Περικλέους,

[1] So the MSS.; συνεβάλετ' Hertlein, Vogel.
[2] Added by J. Scaliger. [3] So Dindorf: τὸν τ. θ. βωμόν.
[4] So Vogel: διὰ A, δὲ misplaced in the other MSS.

[1] The gold and ivory statue in the Parthenon.

of making an explanation of the use of the money. Seeing how his uncle was troubled he asked him the cause of his worry. And when Pericles said, "I am asked for the explanation of the use of the money and I am seeking some means whereby I may be able to render an accounting of it to the citizens," Alcibiades replied, "You should be seeking some means not how to render but how not to render an accounting." Consequently Pericles, accepting the reply of the boy, kept pondering in what way he could embroil the Athenians in a great war; for that would be the best way, he thought, because of the disturbance and distractions and fears which would beset the city, for him to escape giving an exact accounting of the money. Bearing upon this expedient an incident happened to him by mere chance for the following causes.

39. The statue [1] of Athena was a work of Pheidias, and Pericles, the son of Xanthippus, had been appointed overseer of the undertaking. But some of the assistants of Pheidias, who had been prevailed upon by Pericles' enemies, took seats as suppliants at the altars of the gods; and when they were called upon to explain their surprising action, they claimed that they would show that Pheidias had possession of a large amount of the sacred funds, with the connivance and assistance of Pericles the overseer. Consequently, when the Assembly convened to consider the affair, the enemies of Pericles persuaded the people to arrest Pheidias and lodged a charge against Pericles himself of stealing sacred property. Furthermore, they falsely accused the sophist [2] Anaxagoras,

[2] The general name given the teachers of advanced education in the fifth century.

ὡς ἀσεβοῦντα εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς ἐσυκοφάντουν· συνέπλεκον δ' ἐν ταῖς κατηγορίαις καὶ διαβολαῖς τὸν Περικλέα, διὰ τὸν φθόνον σπεύδοντες διαβαλεῖν τὴν τἀνδρὸς ὑπεροχήν τε καὶ δόξαν.

3 Ὁ δὲ Περικλῆς, εἰδὼς τὸν δῆμον ἐν μὲν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἔργοις θαυμάζοντα τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας διὰ τὰς κατεπειγούσας χρείας, κατὰ δὲ τὴν εἰρήνην τοὺς αὐτοὺς συκοφαντοῦντα διὰ τὴν σχολὴν καὶ φθόνον, ἔκρινε συμφέρειν αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς μέγαν πόλεμον, ὅπως χρείαν ἔχουσα τῆς Περικλέους ἀρετῆς καὶ στρατηγίας μὴ προσδέχηται τὰς κατ' αὐτοῦ διαβολάς, μηδ' ἔχῃ σχολὴν καὶ χρόνον ἐξετάζειν ἀκριβῶς τὸν περὶ τῶν χρημάτων λόγον.

4 Ὄντος δὲ ψηφίσματος παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις Μεγαρέας εἴργεσθαι τῆς τε ἀγορᾶς καὶ τῶν λιμένων, οἱ Μεγαρεῖς κατέφυγον ἐπὶ τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πεισθέντες τοῖς Μεγαρεῦσιν ἀπέστειλαν πρέσβεις ἐκ τοῦ προφανεστάτου ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου γνώμης προστάττοντες τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀνελεῖν τὸ κατὰ τῶν Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα, μὴ πειθομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπειλοῦντες

5 πολεμήσειν αὐτοῖς μετὰ τῶν συμμάχων. συναχθείσης οὖν περὶ τούτων ἐκκλησίας, ὁ Περικλῆς, δεινότητι λόγου πολὺ διαφέρων ἁπάντων τῶν

[1] Anaxagoras was one of the most distinguished physical philosophers of Greece, who maintained that the universe was directed by unchangeable Mind and tried to give a natural explanation of eclipses, rainbows, the heavenly bodies, of which he said the sun was a mass of blazing metal larger than the Peloponnesus, and other phenomena of nature. Of course such teaching ran counter to the popular polytheism of the day.

who was Pericles' teacher, of impiety against the gods[1]; and they involved Pericles in their accusations and malicious charges, since jealousy made them eager to discredit the eminence as well as the fame of the man.[2]

But Pericles, knowing that during the operations of war the populace has respect for noble men because of their urgent need of them, whereas in times of peace they keep bringing false accusations against the very same men because they have nothing to do and are envious, came to the conclusion that it would be to his own advantage to embroil the state in a great war, in order that the city, in its need of the ability and skill in generalship of Pericles, should pay no attention to the accusations being lodged against him and would have neither leisure nor time to scrutinize carefully the accounting he would render of the funds.

Now when the Athenians voted to exclude the Megarians from both their market and harbours, the Megarians turned to the Spartans for aid. And the Lacedaemonians, being won over by the Megarians, in the most open manner dispatched ambassadors in accordance with the decision of the Council of the League,[3] ordering the Athenians to rescind the action against the Megarians and threatening, if they did not accede, to wage war upon them together with the forces of their allies. When the Assembly convened to consider the matter, Pericles, who far excelled all

[2] It is more than likely that the accusations against these two friends of Pericles fell some years before the outbreak of the war (cp. Adcock in *Camb. Anc. Hist.* **5**, pp. 477-480). At any rate Thucydides' account of the causes of the war makes no mention of either Pheidias or Anaxagoras.

[3] The Peloponnesian League.

πολιτῶν, ἔπεισε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους μὴ ἀναιρεῖν τὸ ψήφισμα, λέγων ἀρχὴν δουλείας εἶναι τὸ πείθεσθαι παρὰ τὸ συμφέρον τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίων προστάγμασι. συνεβούλευεν οὖν τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας κατακομίζειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ θαλαττοκρατοῦντας διαπολεμεῖν τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις.

40. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου πεφροντισμένως ἀπολογισάμενος ἐξηριθμήσατο μὲν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν συμμάχων τῇ πόλει καὶ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τῆς ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μετακεκομισμένων ἐκ Δήλου χρημάτων εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἃ συνέβαινεν ἐκ τῶν φόρων ταῖς πόλεσι κοινῇ συν-
2 ηθροῖσθαι· κοινῶν δ' ὄντων τῶν μυρίων ταλάντων ἀπανήλωτο πρὸς τὴν κατασκευὴν τῶν προπυλαίων καὶ τὴν Ποτιδαίας πολιορκίαν τετρακισχίλια τάλαντα· καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκ τοῦ φόρου τῶν συμμάχων ἀνεφέρετο τάλαντα τετρακόσια ἑξήκοντα. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων τά[1] τε πομπεῖα[2] καὶ τὰ Μηδικὰ σκῦλα πεντακοσίων ἄξια ταλάντων
3 ἀπεφήνατο, ἔν τε τοῖς ἱεροῖς[3] ἀπεδείκνυεν ἀναθημάτων τε πλῆθος καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα ἔχειν χρυσίου πεντήκοντα τάλαντα, ὡς περιαιρετῆς οὔσης τῆς περὶ τὸν κόσμον κατασκευῆς· καὶ ταῦτα, ἀναγκαία εἰ καταλάβοι χρεία, χρησαμένους παρὰ τῶν θεῶν πάλιν ἀποκαταστήσειν ἐν εἰρήνῃ· τούς τε τῶν πολιτῶν βίους διὰ τὴν πολυχρόνιον εἰρήνην πολλὴν ἐπίδοσιν εἰληφέναι πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν.

4 Χωρὶς δὲ τῶν χρημάτων τούτων στρατιώτας

[1] τὰ Wesseling : ἤ.
[2] σκεύη after πομπεῖα deleted by Dindorf.
[3] So Reiske : ἔργοις.

his fellow citizens in skill of oratory, persuaded the Athenians not to rescind the action, saying that for them to accede to the demands of the Lacedaemonians, contrary to their own interests, would be the first step toward slavery. Accordingly he advised that they bring their possessions from the countryside into the city and fight it out with the Spartans by means of their command of the sea.

40. Speaking of the war, Pericles, after defending his course in well-considered words, enumerated first the multitude of allies Athens possessed and the superiority of its naval strength, and then the large sum of money which had been removed from Delos to Athens and which had in fact been gathered from the tribute into one fund for the common use of the cities; from the ten thousand talents in the common fund four thousand had been expended on the building of the Propylaea[1] and the siege of Potidaea; and each year there was an income from the tribute paid by the allies of four hundred and sixty talents. Beside this he declared that the vessels employed in solemn processions and the booty taken from the Medes were worth five hundred talents, and he pointed to the multitude of votive offerings in the various sanctuaries and to the fact that the fifty talents of gold on the statue of Athena for its embellishment was so constructed as to be removable; and he showed that all these, if dire need befell them, they could borrow from the gods and return to them again when peace came, and that also by reason of the long peace the manner of life of the citizens had made great strides toward prosperity.

In addition to these financial resources Pericles

[1] The entrance to the Acropolis.

ἀπεδείκνυεν ὑπάρχειν τῇ πόλει χωρὶς συμμάχων
καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις ὄντων ὁπλίτας μὲν μυ-
ρίους καὶ δισχιλίους, τοὺς δ' ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις
ὄντας καὶ τοὺς μετοίκους ὑπάρχειν πλείους τῶν
μυρίων ἑπτακισχιλίων, τριήρεις τε τὰς παρούσας
5 τριακοσίας. τοὺς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους χρημάτων τε
σπανίζειν ἀπεδείκνυε καὶ ταῖς ναυτικαῖς δυνάμεσι
πολὺ λείπεσθαι τῶν Ἀθηναίων. ταῦτα διελθὼν καὶ
παρορμήσας τοὺς πολίτας εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, ἔπεισε
τὸν δῆμον μὴ προσέχειν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις.
ταῦτα δὲ ῥᾳδίως συνετέλεσε διὰ τὴν δεινότητα τοῦ
6 λόγου, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ὠνομάσθη Ὀλύμπιος. μέμνη-
ται δὲ τούτων καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ τῆς ἀρχαίας
κωμῳδίας ποιητής, γεγονὼς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Περι-
κλέους ἡλικίαν, ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς τετραμέτροις,[1]

ὦ λιπερνῆτες γεωργοί, τἀμά τις ξυνιέτω
ῥήματ', εἰ βούλεσθ' ἀκοῦσαι τήνδ' ὅπως ἀπώλετο.
πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἦρχε Φειδίας πράξας κακῶς,
εἶτα Περικλέης φοβηθεὶς μὴ μετάσχῃ τῆς τύχης,
ἐμβαλὼν σπινθῆρα μικρὸν Μεγαρικοῦ ψηφίσματος
ἐξεφύσησεν τοσοῦτον πόλεμον ὥστε τῷ καπνῷ
πάντας Ἕλληνας δακρῦσαι, τούς τ' ἐκεῖ τούς τ' ἐνθάδε·

[1] So Canter: γεγραμμένοις.

pointed out that, omitting the allies and garrisons, the city had available twelve thousand hoplites, the garrisons and metics amounted to more than seventeen thousand, and the triremes available to three hundred. He also pointed out that the Lacedaemonians were both lacking in money and far behind the Athenians in naval armaments. After he had recounted these facts and incited the citizens to war, he persuaded the people to pay no attention to the Lacedaemonians. This he accomplished readily by reason of his great ability as an orator, which is the reason he has been called "The Olympian." Mention has been made of this even by Aristophanes, the poet of the Old Comedy, who lived in the period of Pericles, in the following tetrameters[1]:

O ye farmers, wretched creatures,
listen now and understand,
If you fain would learn the reason
why it was Peace left the land.
Pheidias began the mischief,
having come to grief and shame,
Pericles was next in order,
fearing he might share the blame,
By his Megara-enactment
lighting first a little flame,
Such a bitter smoke ascended
while the flames of war he blew,
That from every eye in Hellas
everywhere the tears it drew.

[1] *Peace*, 603-606, 609-611 (in imitation of Archilochus). The translation is that of Rogers in the *L.C.L.*, slightly changed where the Greek of Diodorus varies from the accepted text and because of the missing lines.

καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἄλλοις[1]

Περικλέης οὑλύμπιος
ἤστραπτεν, ἐβρόντα, συνεκύκα τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

Εὔπολις δ᾽ ὁ ποιητὴς

Πειθώ τις ἐπεκάθιζεν ἐπὶ τοῖς χείλεσιν·
οὕτως ἐκήλει καὶ μόνος τῶν ῥητόρων
τὸ κέντρον ἐγκατέλειπε τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις.

[1] Εὔπολις ὁ ποιητὴς after ἄλλοις transferred to third line below by Wesseling.

And again in another place[1]:

The Olympian Pericles
Thundered and lightened and confounded Hellas.

And Eupolis the poet wrote[2]:

One might say Persuasion rested
On his lips; such charm he'd bring,
And alone of all the speakers
In his list'ners left his sting.

[1] *Acharnians*, 531-532.
[2] Frag. 94, ll. 5-7 (Kock). Eupolis was a contemporary of Aristophanes and one of the most brilliant writers of the Old Comedy.

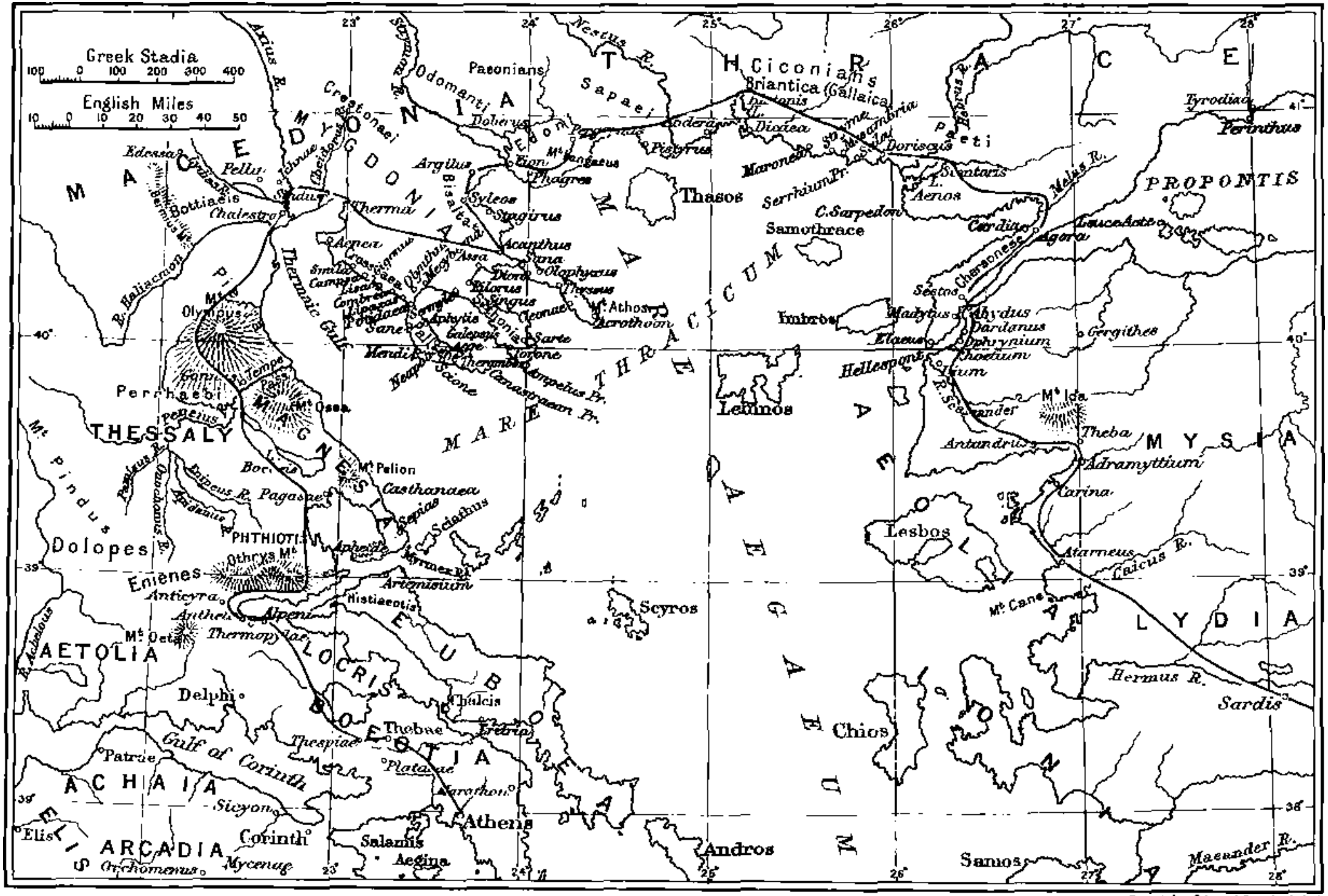
A PARTIAL INDEX OF PROPER NAMES[1]

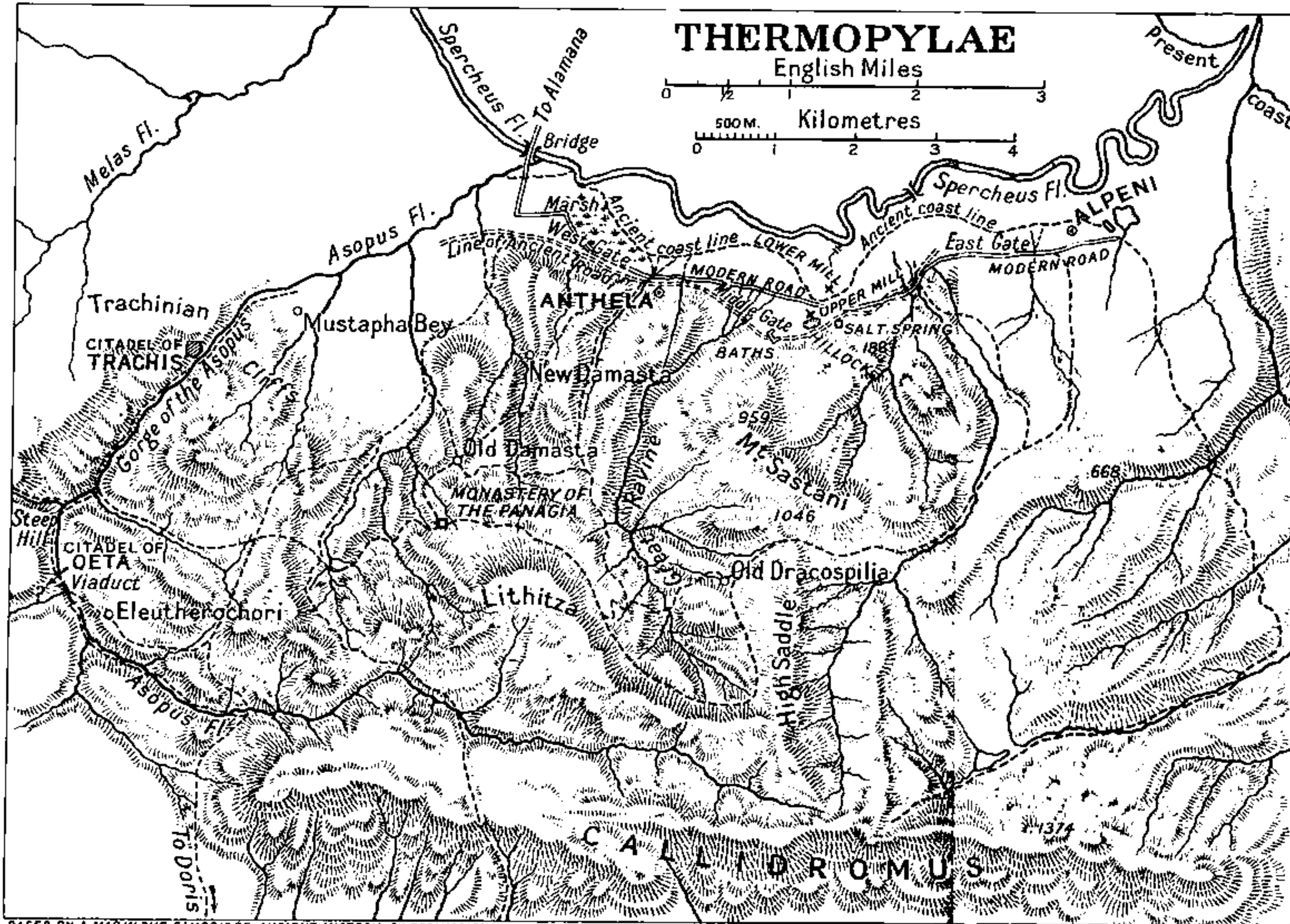
[1] A complete Index will appear in the last volume.

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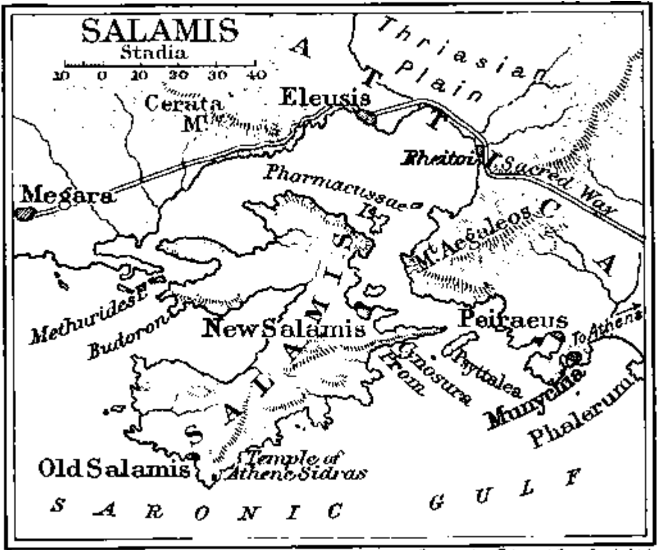
A PARTIAL INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

THE ROUTE OF XERXES





BASED ON A MAP IN THE CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY, BY PERMISSION.


SALAMIS
Stadia
10 0 10 20 30 40
Thriasian Plain
A T T I C A
Eleusis
Cerata M.
Megara
Rheitoi
Sacred Way
Pharmacussae Is.
Mt. Aegaleos
Methurides I.
Budoron
New Salamis
SALAMIS
Peiraeus
To Athens
Cnosura Prom.
Psyttalea
Munychia
Phalerum
Old Salamis
Temple of Athene Sidras
SARONIC GULF

SICILY AND GREECE

